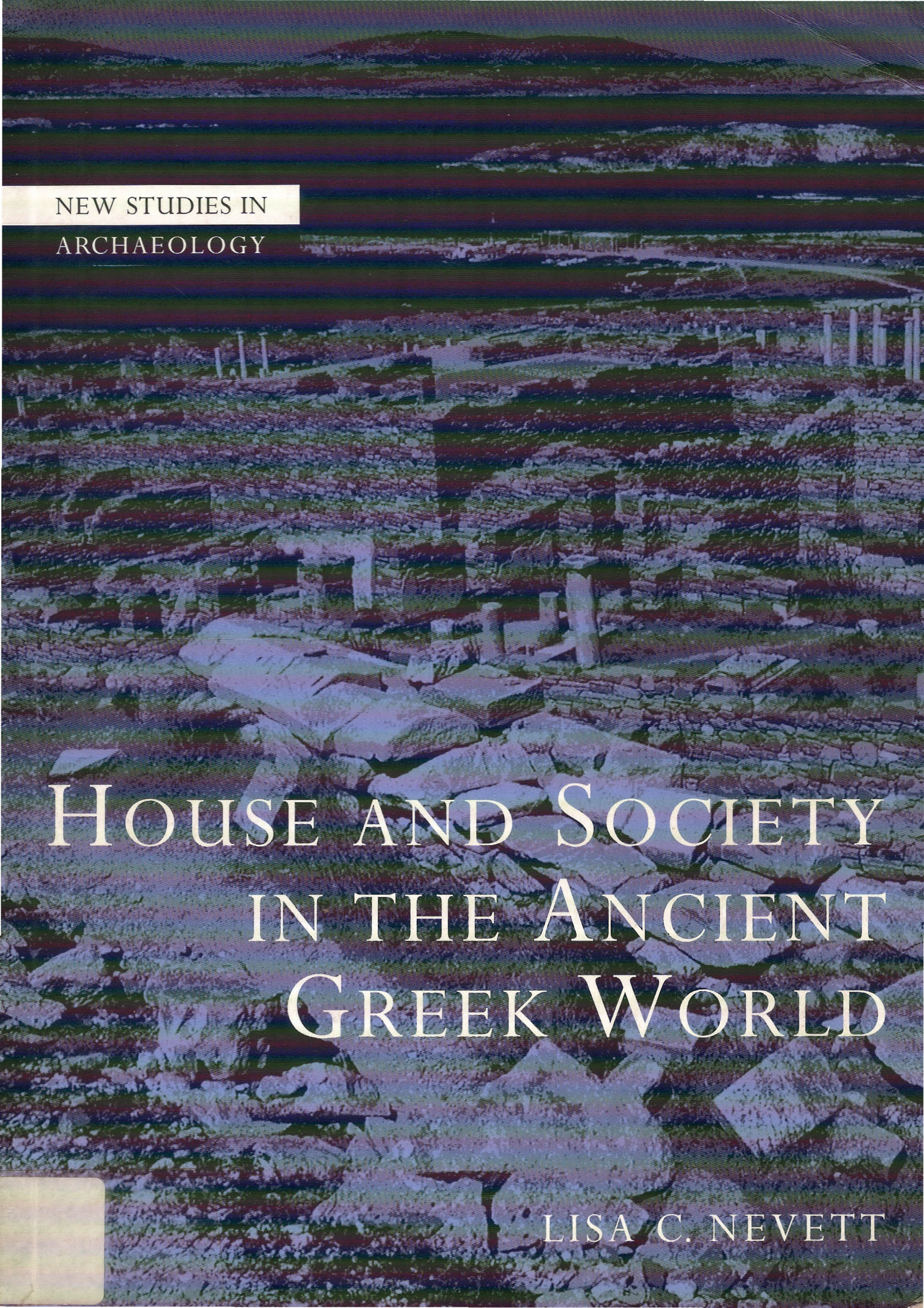

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ARCHAEOLOGY

HOUSE AND SOCIETY IN THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD

LISA C. NEVETT

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House and Society in the Ancient Greek World

This book re-examines traditional assumptions about the nature of social relationships in Greek households during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Through detailed exploration of archaeological evidence from individual houses, Lisa Nevett identifies a recognisable concept of the citizen household as a social unit, and suggests that this was present in numerous Greek cities. She argues that in such households relations between men and women, traditionally perceived as dominating the domestic environment, should be placed within the wider context of domestic activity. Although gender was an important cultural factor which helped to shape the organisation of the house, this was balanced against other influences, notably the relationship between household members and outsiders. At the same time the role of the household in relation to the wider social structures of the *polis*, or city state, changed rapidly through time, with the house itself coming to represent an important symbol of personal prestige.

LISA C. NEVETT is a Lecturer in Classical Studies at The Open University. She has published widely on ancient Greek households, ancient Greek housing and the organisation of domestic space in the Greek and Roman worlds, in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* (1995), and in several edited collections.

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LISA C. NEVETT

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume is based on research carried out between 1988 and 1998. Some of the individual arguments and material have appeared elsewhere (Nevett 1992; Nevett 1994; Nevett 1995a; Nevett 1995b), and the present book presents a full discussion of the material together with the result of continued work on many of the issues. My arguments have not substantially changed, but some are developed further while others are, I hope, clarified (particularly those outlined in Nevett 1995b, which, due to circumstances beyond my control, contain some inaccuracies). This volume has taken a long time to write, partly for pragmatic reasons, and also because of my desire to integrate the picture offered by the archaeological data with some of the issues raised by the historical sources. At times I have found this frustratingly difficult; nevertheless, I hope that, whatever their remaining imperfections, the arguments presented here will stimulate debate on Greek households – an area which is increasingly becoming a focus of interest for ancient historians as well as for archaeologists.

With the exception of the detailed discussion of Olynthos, presented in Chapter 4, my argument is based on published data, and because of the synoptic nature of the volume it has not been possible to undertake detailed study at sites or in museums. For this reason, I have generally preferred to follow the interpretations of the excavators in identifying residential structures and defining their extents (neither of which is as straightforward as it might seem). The levels selected for discussion are generally those which are preserved most fully, and which shed light on the model suggested here. In order not to confuse readers who are already familiar with the sites discussed, I have maintained the numbering systems used in the original publications. In the interests of clarity, rooms are numbered on the plans only where this is necessary for the intelligibility of the discussion. I have used Greek, rather than Romanised, versions of Greek names except where the latter are very familiar.

This volume owes much to the help and support of numerous friends and colleagues, whom it is a pleasure to thank here. I am very grateful to Robin Osborne, Anthony Snodgrass and Todd Whitelaw for their support and encouragement in reading and helping me to develop the work which has finally led to this volume. For commenting on various parts of different versions of the arguments presented here I would also like to thank Bradley Ault, Hugh Bowden, Jim Coulton, Chris Emlyn-Jones, Lorna Harwick and Susan Walker. Discussions with Penelope Allison have helped me to sharpen my approach. I am indebted to Paul Cartledge for all his

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Last, but not least, I would like to thank my family for their support, both material and moral, and Todd, my sternest critic. I dedicate this to him, whether he likes it or not!

Introduction

This volume is an exploration of some of the social relationships within and between households in ancient Greek cities in the area which is now Greece and southern Italy, especially Sicily. A period of roughly two centuries is covered, beginning in the late fifth century, when the *polis* or 'city-state'[1] was at its zenith, and ending in the mid-third century BC, when such states had lost their autonomy. I investigate the character of individual households as social units, focusing on some of the social relationships which seem to have been dominant within the domestic context and on the relationship between individual households and the broader community. A central issue is the relationship between men and women, which has been stressed in the past. Equally important, however, is the distinction between family members and outsiders. I also assess the degree of change taking place over time, suggesting that during this period the household was deeply affected by the profound political changes taking place in the Greek world as a whole. This meant that the shift in power away from the citizen body and from individual city-states towards centralised monarchies was linked with a change in the role played by the household within society as a whole. By the end of this period the house itself had come to assume a prominence and a symbolic importance unknown in the Greek world only 150 years earlier. For one section of the Greek population its traditional role as a venue for entertaining friends was extended and the house came to be used as a tool for self-promotion and in political rivalry.

As noted recently by Pomeroy, many approaches to the subject of the Greek family have assumed that as a social formation it remained static over long periods of time (Pomeroy 1997, 1–3). As Pomeroy's own study illustrates, however, traditional, text-based research will not allow Greek households to be studied in anything other than an anecdotal fashion. Contemporary written evidence demonstrates that the *oikos* or household was a key element of society during this period, and raises a number of questions about the nature of the *oikos* and its role within the community. But these questions cannot be answered convincingly based on textual sources alone, because of the scarcity of relevant passages, the limited range of social and economic backgrounds of their authors, and the predominance of texts from just one city – Athens.

The strategy adopted here is therefore to move away from a reliance on textual sources alone, and to focus on a more abundant and direct form of evidence, namely the archaeological remains of the houses in which Greek households were based.[2] It is this archaeological information which forms the basis of the current study, while textual and also iconographic evidence are used to construct an interpretative framework. This approach relies on the assumption that it is possible to use the physical organisation of the Greek household in order to begin to explore some of the social relationships between its occupants, so that detailed study of the material remains of houses offers a route towards a clearer understanding of the nature of the relationships within individual households and of the position of the household within society as a whole. Support for this assumption comes from within the texts themselves, where the Greek term for household (*oikos*, plural *oikoi*) can encompass a range of meanings, including the physical house or, more usually, its associated property and occupants (MacDowell 1989, 10–11; Todd 1993, 204), and thus gives some indication of the close association in Greek culture between the physical and social dimensions of the household. This is an approach which is also supported by recent cross-cultural and ethnographic studies of domestic social relations, which suggest that the physical organisation of domestic space, and patterns of social relations taking place within, are closely linked.

Given the opportunity offered by the archaeological remains of Greek houses as a source of information about households it may seem strange that they have not been used extensively before (see below pp. 21–29). Part of the reason for this lies in the fact that in the past, archaeological studies of Greece, and indeed the various areas of study which make up the discipline of 'Classical Archaeology' as a whole, were not generally renown for their theoretical or methodological sophistication. In north-western Europe and the United States, Classical Archaeology has usually been studied as a sub-discipline within the field of Classics, and 'a strict hierarchical structure' has emerged in which 'the literary text stands at the top and the humble pot at the bottom' (Dyson 1981, 8), and where the material record has often been used only 'to illustrate the world already known from written sources' (*ibid.*). Archaeology has been seen as failing to deal with many of the questions which classical scholars expected it to answer, particularly those relating to specific historical events and individuals, and there has been a lack of realisation of the fact that the real strength of the material lies in its capacity for allowing us to understand long-term processes (Snodgrass 1985, 193–194; Snodgrass 1987, 36–66). In recent years, however, things have begun to change: the true potential of archaeological data has begun to be recognised, as the influence of the New Archaeology, with its concern for the long-term development and change of cultures, has gradually filtered through into studies of the classical world. This development has brought with it a consciousness of the potentially broad range of issues which can be studied using archaeological material (for example Snodgrass 1987; Morris 1987; Cherry *et al.* 1991; Morris (ed.) 1994; Jameson *et al.* 1994). At the same time the interest of ancient historians has shifted, lending more emphasis to social questions. As will become clear below, however, the available textual sources have not always been able to provide answers to the questions they have raised. In this context it has become possible to contemplate aspects of the ancient world which, hitherto, have not been fully considered, adopting new analytical techniques and challenging the field of Classics as a whole to accept the validity of such approaches.

In this study I pick up on these recent developments by concentrating on broad social processes and long-term trends, and addressing issues which have not been fully addressed using archaeological evidence. Partly as a consequence this book operates on two levels: although it is first and foremost an exploration of the nature of social relations within a specific context, it also fits into a broader framework of studies of social relations in domestic contexts. Many of the assumptions which underlie my argument are therefore derived from sociological and anthropological studies, which have either been cross-cultural or have focused on a single context, and have developed ideas about connections between the organisation of the domestic environment and social relationships in recent societies. My analytical methodologies, too, are to a large extent inspired by work which has taken place outside the field of Classical Archaeology, usually involving analysis of prehistoric households. (An exception is some recent work on Roman houses, for example Thébert 1987; Allison 1992; Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Lawrence and Wallace-Hadrill (eds.) 1997.) Some of the basic questions addressed here are similar to those raised by prehistorians, but the Greek material offers the potential for a subtlety of approach rarely matched by other data-sets because it is accompanied by extensive textual sources and a rich ceramic iconography. This variety of sources means that some of the topics which can be explored bear closer comparison with issues dealt with by historians working in much more recent contexts (compare, for example, Girouard's study of the way in which changes in the English country house are closely connected with broader social developments: Girouard 1978; although the kind of detailed documentary evidence relating to households which was available in that instance, at least for the later periods, is lacking in the case of ancient Greece).

Taken together, then, the abundance of archaeological material of various types, combined with our knowledge of the general social and historical context of the period, means that the Classical Greek world offers an ideal opportunity for a detailed case-study in 'household archaeology'. In this context the relationship between social behaviour and material culture can be explored in much greater detail than is possible in most other archaeological studies. It therefore becomes possible to examine the nature of connections between different spheres of activity and between the ideological and material worlds at a level of resolution which is rarely possible in archaeological households. For this reason I hope the book will be of interest to archaeologists working on similar issues in a variety of other cultures, as well as to those with a specific interest in the Greek world.

I

Domestic space and ancient Greek society

The Greek *oikos*: questions and problems

Assumptions we make about the nature of ancient Greek households affect not only the way in which we reconstruct the social and economic history of the region, but also our interpretation of the art, and especially the literature which survives. For this reason, a good understanding of the way in which households functioned is fundamental to our perception of Greek culture as a whole. Nevertheless, although a relatively large amount of evidence of different kinds has survived from the ancient Greek world, our knowledge of households and of how they functioned is relatively poor, and there are various questions which have stimulated past debate but which remain to a large extent unresolved.

Discussion has mainly centred around Athens, the major source of written evidence for this period, and a number of related questions have been raised concerning how the *oikos* was conceptualised by the Athenians themselves, how it operated in practice as a social institution, and how it should be defined by modern scholarship. A problematic area is the ambiguity of the relationship between the *oikos* and other social or political institutions, notably the civic body or *polis*. There are also further questions which relate to the way in which the *oikos* changed through time in response to alterations in the political landscape of the city. It is debatable whether conclusions about the households of Athenian citizens can be extrapolated to cover either non-citizen families at Athens, or households in Greek communities elsewhere in the Greek world, bearing in mind that there were Greek cities scattered as widely as north Africa and the Black Sea coast.

The role of the Athenian *oikos* has often emerged from the written sources most clearly when it is discussed in relation to that of the *polis*, and the two are frequently portrayed as opposites. As they have done for many societies, modern scholars have characterised the household as a female environment, some even assuming that women were not supposed to leave (this question is discussed in more detail below). This represents a strong contrast with the *polis* which is represented as a masculine sphere of activity. Nevertheless this picture is not without ambiguities: one of the most commonly cited images of the Greek household is of an environment in which 'women and men were ... segregated by sex ... with women living upstairs in women's quarters and men living downstairs in men's quarters' (Pomeroy 1991, xiii; compare Keuls 1993, 210). Such a vision clearly sees men as having played a role within the domestic environment, as well as outside it, and there is certainly a great deal of evidence, both textual and iconographic, for one particular masculine activity which is assumed to have taken place within the house, namely the *symposium* or drinking party. This event involved entertaining male guests, and its existence calls into question the sense in which the *oikos* can be said to have been a female space. Clearly, then, the *oikos* was an important *locus* for the negotiation of gender roles, but the extant written sources do not allow us to see how those relationships worked in practice.

Oikos and *polis* also seem to have served to define each other in other respects. A rough equation could be made between the *oikos* and the private sphere of the modern western world. Nevertheless, this imposes too many of our own assumptions and leads us to separate public and private spheres of life, making assumptions about the relative significance of each and about its association with male and female family members (Humphreys 1993a, 32). More plausibly, the *polis* has usually been characterised as encompassing the political sphere, or that in which collective action was taken, as opposed to that of the individual (Konstan 1997a, 90). Thus the *polis* excluded a number of areas which today would be considered part of public life, such as business activities (Hansen 1989, 19–21; Wagner-Hasel 1989, 28–29; Cohen 1991, 77), which would have come within the sphere of the *oikos*.

Following on from these ambiguities in the scope of the spheres of *oikos* and *polis*, a further issue is the extent to which they can be considered as separate, and if so, whether one took precedence over the other. As Strauss' comprehensive summary of this debate shows, it is hard to argue either that the political realm was completely isolated, or that the state was completely subordinated to the family (Strauss 1993, 9–12; 33–53) and his suggestion that Athenian politics should be seen as to some extent 'familialized' (*ibid.*, 9f) provides a convincing middle ground. There is in fact some evidence to suggest that at Athens during the fifth century some sort of distinction was drawn between the realms of *oikos* and *polis*, but that some degree of ambiguity and even tension existed between them. It seems that on occasion some of the roles of the *oikos* could be subsumed by the *polis*. For example, citizens who had died in battle were mourned in private by their friends and relatives but were given public funerals and commemorated on funerary monuments as members of the *polis* as a whole, without the usual reference to their family names (Loraux 1986, 22–25). It has also been argued that the funeral speech of Perikles as reported by Thucydides (2.34–46) should be interpreted as an attempt by the Athenian *polis* to appropriate the symbols of the *oikos* (Strauss 1993, 212f). The potential for general conflict of interests between *oikos* and *polis* is indicated by the fact that legal protection was offered to uphold the integrity of private life against invasion by the *polis* (Hansen 1989, 12–17). Athenian tragic drama of the period also hints repeatedly at an uneasy balance struck between the powers of the *polis*, on the one hand, and the welfare and responsibilities of the *oikos* on the other. Heroines like Sophocles' Antigone defend the interests of the *oikos* against male characters, like her uncle Creon, who support the interests of the wider community, even where this means damaging his own *oikos*.

Oikos and *polis* may have been forces which sometimes pulled in different directions, but equally, the various demands and interests of the two spheres must have been reconciled by individuals on a day-to-day basis. To view the two as permanently in opposition must therefore be to oversimplify what must in reality have been a much more complex set of relationships. The *polis* was made up of individual citizens. This citizen body comprised the minority of the adult male population who fulfilled certain requirements of parentage and property ownership (involving possession of an *oikos*, in its broad sense), automatically excluding members of the local population who could not comply with these requirements, as well as resident foreigners, slaves and women. Nevertheless, they represented a substantial group of men who were both citizens and also members of their own respective *oikoi*, and therefore had interests both in that *oikos* and in the *polis* as a whole, which they must have balanced against each other. In fact, as well as highlighting the possible tensions between the loyalties commanded by the *oikos* and those of the *polis*, the ancient writers also recognised parallels between the skills needed to run a household's estate and those needed to govern a state (Xenophon *Oikonomikos* 4.4–25) and the requirements of a good citizen were generally also those of a good statesman (Strauss 1990, 105–107).

Our ability to use written evidence in order to explore these various aspects of the relationship between *oikos* and *polis* is limited by the orientation of those sources. Direct references to the *oikos* are few in number and each one conveys only fragments of information, so that it is often necessary to conflate the details from various texts in order to produce a single overall picture. This means that variability and the individual events which would have made up the life of a single household must necessarily be excluded. Instead we are forced to look at a small number of representations without knowing whether they portray some sort of norm or whether they constitute exceptional patterns of behaviour which would rarely if ever be expected in reality. In addition we have little information about the non-citizen population of Athens such as the foreign workers or *metics*, so that we do not know to what extent it is valid to talk about the concept of an *oikos* in relation to these groups, and whether they would have aspired to and/or attained similar patterns of domestic social relations to those of their citizen neighbours.

These problems are even greater with respect to households outside Athens. Because our written sources are overwhelmingly Athenian, the extent of possible differences between cities is difficult to investigate. Nevertheless, it is clear that not all states functioned in the same way as Athens. Epigraphic evidence as well as the Athenian literary sources show that individual cities had their own distinctive civic and religious institutions, and feuds between cities were common. In addition there is a gross distinction to be made between Athens together with other *poleis* which had a single main urban centre, and the much looser political formation, the *ethnos*, which is usually characterised as an affiliated group of smaller settlements lacking a major urban centre (Ehrenberg 1969, 22–25). We do not know whether these differences in the political and geographical organisation of different Greek communities are also associated with differences in social relations at a household level, and it is therefore unclear to what extent we can talk about a concept of the *oikos* in non-Athenian communities or whether, if we can, it implies similar social patterns.

In short, therefore, while it is possible to generalise to some degree about the

Athenian *oikos*, there are many contradictions and it is unclear to what extent the resulting picture is representative. In addition, the scope and nature of the questions which can be asked are shaped by the availability and orientation of the written sources, and circumscribed by a variety of interpretative problems. These restrict the way in which the sources can be used, and they largely exclude the possibility of investigating non-citizen families or those outside Athens. The tendency to construct a single normative picture of 'the Greek household' therefore obscures any view of the way in which rules were negotiated in individual circumstances. It also hampers attempts to investigate the extent to which they differed according to the social status or economic resources of the occupants of the household, the city in which it was located, or the date.

Even with respect to Athens, the tendency to conflate sources from different periods is problematic. Some evidence suggests that the *oikos* and its role in relation to the *polis* were far from static, although the specific nature of the developments taking place, and their exact timing, are open to dispute. The beginning of a slow process of separation between *oikos* and *polis* can be traced back possibly as early as the beginning of the fifth century, and it has been detected in a variety of different sources. Schmitt and Schnapp argue that changes in the iconography of painted pottery produced at Athens at around 500 BC suggest a shift in ideology, from a world of inclusiveness and equality, to one of privacy and exclusivity, and that this is symptomatic of a change in society which involved the emergence of personal autonomy and of a concept of private life (Schmitt and Schnapp 1982, esp. 67–72). Changes in the legal requirements for citizenship and in the depiction of women in funerary contexts during the fifth century have also been argued to show that increased importance was being given to the family group (Osborne 1997, *passim*). By the last quarter of the fifth century, it seems that individual Athenian *oikoi* were standing up to the tendency of the *polis* to take over the funerals of citizens killed in battle, and were reclaiming some of the glory for themselves (Morris 1992, 143–144). (A similar pattern of contradiction has also been argued to underlie other aspects of Athenian culture, notably the funeral speech, which emerged during the period under discussion here: Loraux 1986, *passim*, for example 53–54.)

From the textual evidence, in contrast, it has been suggested that some degree of conscious distinction between public and private spheres at Athens was beginning to emerge only during the fifth century (Humphreys 1993b, 21), and it has also been argued that the size of the gulf between the two, and the suddenness of its appearance have been exaggerated (Strauss 1990, 104). Nevertheless, there are broad shifts in the texts being produced at Athens which suggest some change in the interest of authors, away from the sphere of the *polis* towards that of the *oikos*. As we have already seen, fifth-century tragedy may be articulating problems raised by the emergence of a private sphere, as it deals with conflict between *oikos* and *polis*. The comic plays of Aristophanes, written during the same period, focus on public life, featuring political satire and current events, and including protagonists who were well-known political and cultural figures. Most of the material which survives from the fourth century is, however, very different in character. In forensic oratory, which is a major genre of this period, the importance of the *oikos* and of private life is a central concern which underlies many of the cases, even where the *oikos* itself is not referred to directly (Todd 1993, 206), and the interests of the *oikos* often seem to have been pursued in decision-making, for example with respect to creating marriage alliances (Cox 1988, 188). It has been argued that at this time there was an increase in the relative importance of the *oikos* to individual citizens, and that certain areas of public life, including politics and the leadership of the army, became increasingly the province of specialists, with many citizens withdrawing from involvement in the government of the city (Mossé 1973, 17; 25–27; 117).

These claims of political apathy should not, perhaps, be taken too seriously, since similar problems are noted by various authors going back as far as the fifth century, as well as being raised in the context of the fourth century; for example, in his reconstruction of Perikles' funeral oration, Thucydides outlines the attitude of the Athenians towards those who do not participate in politics (Thucydides 2.40). Furthermore, despite claims of a retreat into private affairs amongst the majority of the population, there still seems to have been considerable participation in the Athenian assembly. The Pnyx, where its meetings took place, was enlarged at the end of the fifth century to enable around 6,500 to 8,000 citizens to be accommodated (Hansen 1991, 130–132), suggesting that democratic participation was still increasing at that point. At the same time, the rights of ordinary citizens to participate in civic life were reinforced by the introduction of pay for jurors in the mid fifth century. There was also opportunity for political involvement at a more local level in the form of the Attic demes (Osborne 1985b, 74–88), among whose functions was the taking of local decisions (Whitehead 1986, 111–119). The demes also seem to have involved different groups of individuals from those taking part in political life in Athens itself (*ibid.*, 313–319), so that the total number of citizens involved in some level of political activity within Athens and its territory must have remained considerable.

One form of evidence does, however, support the notion that, even if citizens were not withdrawing from public life, there was some increase in the importance of the *oikos* as a focus for daily activity, and that is comic drama. The extant comedies of the late fourth and early third centuries (falling into the general category of New Comedy) abandoned the current events and public figures which had been the focus for the comedies of Aristophanes, and instead concerned themselves with the detail of daily life. The plots of playwrights such as Menander involve family relationships and love-affairs, and they have been seen as reflecting wider social trends and in particular the demise of the democratic *polis* at Athens (for example, Wiles 1991, 1; Konstan 1995, 166).

In short, although these different types of evidence suggest generally similar types of change in Athenian society, the details of those changes are unclear and the various sources of evidence suggest a range of possible dates for such developments. Part of the reason for this is likely to be inherent in the nature of the sources themselves: different types of textual evidence were produced at different stages during this period, so that it is not possible to compare like with like, but it is clear that each genre has its own story to tell. Philosophers, for example, continued to discuss the social organisation and government of the *polis* after political satire had ceased to be a subject for the comic playwrights. (Plato's *Republic*, for instance, was probably written during the third decade of the fourth century: Guthrie 1975, 437.) It seems, then, that there were shifts through time in literary taste and in the subject-matter chosen by dramatists and other writers. As is the case with fifth-century tragedy, the link between these and changes taking place in society is unlikely to be straightforward, and although a variety of sources suggest that social developments were taking place there is much still to be learned, in particular about the way in which the *oikos* itself was involved.

There is also some evidence that as well as changing in importance relative to the *polis*, the *oikos* itself may have been undergoing some transformations during this period. For example, it has been argued that even if women are to be identified correctly with the domestic sphere in the fifth century, by the fourth century they were able to exert influence outside the household, and that they became increasingly able to take part in public activities from which they had previously been excluded (for example Pomeroy 1975 125–131; Cantarella 1987, 90–92). Again, however, the evidence for this is problematic. Athens, which is the source of much of our evidence for the earlier period, is not necessarily representative of the Greek world as a whole, and women in the later periods may have had more freedom only because they are compared with an Athenian ideal which was exceptionally restrictive (Van Bremen 1983). The comparison is particularly difficult since the majority of evidence for increasing female freedom comes from Egypt and the Hellenistic East, and it is difficult to assess whether women from other areas of the Greek world had a comparable degree of independence. Indeed, in the case of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, it has recently been argued that although women are represented more frequently in the epigraphic record in the Hellenistic period, they did not in fact have increased freedom (Van Bremen 1996, *passim*).

In sum, although it is present beneath the surface of much of our textual evidence, the rarity of direct references to the Athenian *oikos*, and the virtual absence of references to *oikoi* elsewhere in the Greek world, mean that important questions remain to be addressed. With respect to the general character of the Athenian *oikos* as an institution, we are unsure of the significance of its literary association specifically with women; there is also some ambiguity over the extent to which it can be considered to be 'private' in the modern sense of the word, and indeed over whether a concept of privacy existed at all. Further questions arise over the extent to which the *oikos* changed over time, and whether the Athenian *oikos* was paralleled elsewhere in the Greek world. Progress in these areas holds out the prospect of understanding some of the social changes which took place during the late fifth and fourth centuries at Athens, and of investigating the extent to which similar conditions also prevailed elsewhere in the Greek world. Nevertheless, these issues cannot be addressed using the written evidence alone.

In this context an archaeological approach has a number of advantages: in addition to providing a larger quantity of evidence than the limited number of relevant literary sources, it offers a broad chronological and geographical spread of material, which can be dated relatively precisely using existing ceramic chronologies. The questions raised above are also suited to examination through the material record, and they are central to the analysis of the archaeological material presented below. Here archaeological data are used directly to explore the extent to which houses may have been divided physically and to assess the possible implications of the spatial organisation of the household in terms of social relationships (particularly between men and women). This information also offers a picture of the extent to which similar patterns of social relations are likely to have prevailed across the Greek world and whether they remained static through time. The answers to these questions are used in Chapter 7 to address the broader issues raised above, presenting a picture of aspects of the nature of the *oikos* and of the nature of its relationship with the wider community.

The remainder of this chapter provides a brief normative picture of the Athenian *oikos* based on previous research. The aim is not to offer a comprehensive summary of all past research, nor to present a detailed analysis of individual representations and interpretations. Rather, the purpose is to elaborate on some of the questions raised above, whilst at the same time presenting a general outline which will provide a context for the archaeological analysis detailed below and serve as a point of departure for discussion in subsequent chapters. First, however, it is necessary to begin with a brief consideration of some of the characteristics of the written and iconographic sources on which that picture is based.

Examining the *oikos*

The sources

As I have already stressed, although when taken together the surviving literary sources offer a picture of Athenian society which is paralleled in its detail by few other pre-modern societies, the richness of the written record can also be deceptive. The restricted number of references to the *oikos* are part of a more general pattern in which many aspects of life are, for different reasons, not discussed or are mentioned only very briefly, since they would have been familiar to the ancient audience and would therefore not have needed to be spelled out. Moreover, as already seen, the various genres of text available can offer different and even conflicting views on a single issue. Although such contradictions mean that it is not always possible to create a single coherent picture of any single aspect of social relations, the degree of diversity which the texts attest has not always been apparent, and amongst modern scholars discussion has tended to be dominated by a few of the more lengthy descriptions, whilst shorter, and perhaps contradictory references have tended to be eclipsed. Further complications arise from the changes in the genres of text most commonly available, which, as illustrated above, make chronological developments difficult to investigate. The paucity of literary material from outside Athens also means that it is difficult to investigate the extent to which Athenian patterns of behaviour were typical of the Greek world as a whole. Even within Athens or Attica as a whole, there may well have been more variability than the written sources indicate.

Only a limited proportion of the population could afford the papyrus or other writing materials necessary for the composition of lengthy documents (Harris 1989, 94f), so documentary evidence is likely to reflect only the wealthier sections of society, and those who had the skills necessary to compose such texts were probably relatively few in number (Thomas 1992, 50). Written evidence may therefore record at best only one possible pattern of behaviour among a variety practised by households at different socio-economic levels. In addition, all the relevant texts we possess from the period covered here were written by men, so that we are lacking a female perspective. This makes it difficult to investigate the hypothesis that men and women operated in very different spheres and, if this theory is correct, to explore the lives of the female members of society.

In addition to textual evidence, a further important source of information bearing on domestic activities is the painted pottery which forms a significant minority of the various types of vessel produced at this time (for examples, see Plates 1–5). These images show human figures engaged in a range of activities which include drinking, spinning thread and bathing. In some instances inscribed names indicate that these are characters from mythology, with whom we may be familiar through Greek literature, but in the majority of instances the protagonists are anonymous. The rich variety of scenes, together with the fact that they portray activities which are frequently not discussed in the written sources, make these images attractive as a potential source of information, although their interpretation is not unproblematic. As is the case with the majority of the written material, most of this painted pottery was produced at Athens. The identity of the painters must to some extent have influenced the scenes which they painted and the way in which they chose to represent those scenes. In some instances signatures on fired and unfired vessels suggest that a single individual would both manufacture and paint pots. It seems likely that they had the status of craftsmen, rather than artists in the modern sense (Robertson 1991, 3–8; Vickers and Gill 1994, 95–97), and that they would have had relatively low status (Sparkes 1991, 11). It has sometimes been assumed that women as well as men would have been involved in manufacture (for example Sparkes 1991, 10) and three of the painted scenes collected by Beazley which appear to represent the manufacture of pottery (or perhaps metal) vessels include female figures (Beazley 1946).[1] Female painters may, however, have been rare, since none of the vessels signed by their painters included in Beazley's comprehensive publication (Beazley 1963) bears a female name. (Our only literary references to female painters mention women decorating walls rather than pottery: Fantham *et al.* 1994, 168.) As with the written evidence, then, these images are likely to represent the product of only a limited group of individuals of relatively low status, perhaps consisting predominantly of men. The images which they produced must therefore represent life from a particular perspective, although the pictures they produced were probably intended for a more varied market (Robertson 1991, 5–6) and must therefore represent scenes which reflect a shared cultural background, in order to be comprehensible to an audience comprising a wider variety of social and economic groups.

The way in which a modern audience views the iconographic evidence and the extent to which it is able to interpret the imagery is more problematic. Although these paintings have traditionally been used in order to illustrate life in ancient Athens rather than as a source of information in themselves (Schmitt-Pantel 1983) we cannot be sure of the relationship between them and the activities which actually took place. In some scenes names written over individual figures evoke episodes from mythology. It is arguable, however, that those myths are represented in human terms, and indeed it has been suggested that painted pottery often explores the interface between the real and the unreal or the possible and the impossible (Osborne 1991). Furthermore, the process of painting clearly involved selection and interpretation of material by individual painters, and also the use of artistic devices which enabled a story to be told within the limited frame of an individual painted vessel (Snodgrass 1982). All of these processes combine to create an image which is as much an intellectual construct as a reflection of reality (Schmitt-Pantel 1983, 10). A major problem which must be confronted if these scenes are to be used as an independent source of information is that the modern viewer may not be equipped to comprehend fully scenes whose implications are likely to have been obvious to the original audience. That audience had more direct experience of such situations and would have needed fewer visual 'cues' to achieve an understanding of what was being shown (see, for example, McNally 1984; Bérard 1989; Lissarrague 1987; Harvey 1988; Lissarrague 1990; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991; Goldhill and Osborne 1994). Such considerations emphasise the need for caution and an awareness of the gulf between the ancient and modern viewer when using these images as sources of evidence.

A valuable aid to interpreting both the iconography and the literary sources is comparative material from modern ethnographic studies. This offers certain parallels to the patterns of behaviour which can be reconstructed in the ancient Greek context, but gives more detailed information about social behaviour and about how different spheres of life may interact and affect each other. In particular, such studies offer an indication of some of the ways in which the material record, which survives archaeologically, can relate to the social relationships which are the object of this present inquiry. Although this kind of work can in no way offer templates for behaviour which can be transposed directly into the ancient context (Golden 1992), it is useful in that it shows how social ideals may work in practice (Cohen 1989, 1). Equally importantly, the process of looking closely at another society which has very different patterns of behaviour from our own forces us to become aware of our own ethnocentric assumptions about social roles and behaviour. This is a valuable exercise in the context of any archaeological study, but it is particularly important in relation to the ancient world, where many of our models have been built up by generations of scholars who have not always been wary of transferring their own preconceptions onto the classical past in an uncritical manner (see, with reference to the Roman world, Nevett 1997a; Allison forthcoming).

Aspects of the oikos *as a social unit*

The term *oikos* encompassed a range of residents of the house, including husband and wife, and the couple's children. These may have been supplemented by elderly parents and female members of the extended family (Lacey 1968, 25), who always required the protection of a male relative (Just 1989, 26–30; Sealey 1990, 36). (The kind of situation which could arise is illustrated by the arrival of various female relatives following the defeat of Athens in war (Xenophon *Memorabilia* 2.7.1–12).) In addition, what we know of Athenian marriage practices suggests that at least one of the partners in a marriage may have been married previously, so that there may also have been stepchildren present in the household (Thompson 1972; Gallant 1991, 24f). These family members may also have been augmented by other individuals, such as friends visiting for long or short stays, lodgers, and concubines of the head of the household (Cox 1998, 168–208). New Comedy offers thumb-nail sketches of relations between some of these members of the household, particularly grown-up sons and their ageing fathers, although the numbers of plays are small and the contexts are such that it is difficult to make generalisations about family relations. These plays also portray slaves, and it has often been assumed that it would have been normal for a household to have at least one domestic slave. Nevertheless, slaves would have been costly, not only to purchase, but also to feed, and the proportion of households which could have afforded them, and the numbers of slaves involved, are unknown (Gallant 1991, 33). These sources have tended to lead to the formation of a composite model in which the household has often been seen as being fairly static, but recent research has followed the lead of ethnographic studies which have stressed the fact that individual households follow a complex life-cycle, during which they develop and grow with the birth of children, and subsequently wane and break up as individuals die or leave the household (*ibid.*, 11). The composition of an individual household at any moment in time will therefore have depended not only on the social and economic status of the occupants, but also on the stage in the life-cycle that had been reached.

I focus here on the relationship between the head of the household and his wife, highlighting the issue of male/female relations, which I have already identified as a key question with respect to the Greek household. In the context of Athenian citizen families, a variety of textual sources stress the point that the *oikos* as a whole was founded upon the partnership between husband and wife (for example Aristotle *Politics* 1252b; Xenophon *Oikonomikos* 3.10–16, esp. 15; Ps.-Aristotle *Oikonomika* 1.2.1). At the same time, they also stress the distinctively different role played by each partner in sustaining the household and enabling it to prosper (Foley 1981, 154; Foley 1982, 4; Arthur 1982, 535–536; Foxhall 1989, 31–32). The husband provided the means of support, usually by farming the land which seems to have formed the basis of the inherited wealth of the *oikos*. In addition he was expected to take an active part in public life by voting, standing for public office, and where necessary engaging in warfare to help preserve his community. In many ways the man of the house formed a link between the world of the *polis* and that of the household, acting as the *kyrios* or guardian not only of his children, but also of his wife and of other adult female relatives who, for one reason or another, were without a husband. This role involved both providing for them in a material sense, and also looking after their interests in the public sphere, for example by representing them in court.

As noted above, in contrast with her husband, most sources see a wife's principal area of activity as lying in the domestic sphere. Her responsibilities involved activities such as spinning, weaving, performing chores, supervising household slaves and, importantly, overseeing the organisation of the household stores (Xenophon *Oikonomikos* 9.14–15.) The most detailed picture of women's lives emerges from tragic drama, which represents large numbers of female characters who have sometimes been taken as evidence about the lives of contemporary Athenian women. This approach is, however, extremely problematic (Pomeroy 1975, 94–97): not only are all of the tragedians male, but these characters are fictional creations existing within the framework of mythological tales, and we cannot know how far they offer an accurate representation of the situations which faced real Athenians during the fifth century (Goldhill 1986, 114f). Nor can we always determine the extent to which customary practices have been adapted in order to accommodate the details of individual plots. Clearly, then, such plays should be viewed within a wider social and political context and balanced against other sources of evidence.

The impression offered by other written material is much more sketchy and far from internally consistent. The masculine perspective of the written sources may in some respects underplay the amount of power women were able to exercise within the *oikos*, but though she was always subordinate to the man of the house (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, *passim*) there are hints that a wife did have some say, and that women may have had some influence on events in the wider sphere of the *polis*. Female power is a theme which underlies a number of plays. For example, in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* women take over the running of the state, suggesting that the relationship between women and power was perhaps a matter of debate, or at least unease, at the time (compare Taafe 1993, 131–133). In the context of modern Greece it has been suggested that one basis for informal female power is through influence over the household (Friedl 1986). In the context of fourth-century Athens it has been argued that an older woman could have status as a source of knowledge about family matters (Hunter 1989b, 301). There are instances where an older woman achieved some degree of independence on the death of her husband (Hunter 1989a; Hunter 1989b), or at least had some say in her own future. (For example, in Isaios 2.8 the wife of Menekles appears to have been given a say in whether she will remarry.) Nevertheless, the power women exercised within the *oikos* must generally have operated only within narrow boundaries, and it seems likely that if female power did have a significant influence on the wider community, it did so via informal means, via male relatives (Hunter 1989a; Hunter 1994, 53). (Again, this is a kind of power relationship which has been observed in the context of modern Greece, for example: Dubisch 1986.)

Thus, the extent to which a woman had the power to influence what went on outside her own household is a matter for debate, but her prime importance was as the source of the heirs, who would eventually inherit the *oikos* and ensure its survival. Indeed, one of the strongest characteristics of the *oikos* which comes down to us through the ancient sources is that it represented a descent group, and its preservation and continuity seem to have been more important than the interests of any single generation (Lacey 1968, 125–130; Foxhall 1989, 28). In Athens, at least, the rank of a woman's own father was crucial in the process of inheritance. From the mid-fifth century, Perikles' citizenship law decreed that not only a boy's father but also his mother had to be from a citizen family in order to ensure that he, too, would be entitled to citizen status and could legitimately inherit (Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 26.4; *ibid.*, 42.1–2).[2]

A woman was also important for the continuity of the *oikos*. Marriage to close relatives such as first cousins, which would have consolidated family property and stengthened political alliances, seems to have been common among the wealthier families (Thompson 1967). Where there were no male heirs to an *oikos* provision was made for an heiress to marry her closest male relative (even if this meant that she had to divorce a current husband – see Isaios 3.64) in order to ensure that the property which she had inherited would stay within the extended family and the *oikos* would be preserved and eventually handed on to her sons (Isaios 10.12). Even if she was not an heiress, a wife generally seems to have brought a dowry to the marriage (Just 1989, 82f; Foxhall 1989, 32–34). This would have remained the property of her original *oikos*, and legal provision was made for the return of the dowry to the woman's original family in the event of a marriage failing or the woman or her husband dying without male descendants (Isaios 3.36 and 3.78; Demosthenes 59.52 and 27.17; compare Wolff 1944, 64). The dowry would have meant that, like her husband, a wife had an economic stake in her new *oikos* (Foxhall 1989, 35), allowing her some financial security. It perhaps also gave some disincentive to the husband to end the marriage without due cause, since if she left, some of the collective assets would have been lost to the *oikos* as they returned with the wife to her original family.

In relation to public life, in contrast, a woman's role seems to have been one of almost total exclusion. At Athens, at least, civic duties (with the exception of some cult activity, which is discussed below) and direct participation in democracy were denied even to the wives and daughters of citizens, who could not take part in public debate, vote in the assembly or appear in court. Similarly, in relation to business transactions women were not legally allowed to sell land (Foxhall 1989, 33) or do business in markets where a sum of more than one *medimnos* of barley was involved (this was also the sum to which the activities of children were limited: Isaios 10.10). (It is impossible to know whether these laws were observed in practice: *ibid.*, 24.) In the surviving legal speeches women are generally referred to via their relationship with their male relatives (for example Isaios speaks of 'the wife of Euktemon' and 'the daughter of Meixiades': Isaios 6.10). Indeed it seems to have been the case that even to mention the name of a living woman in public could cause disgrace to her family (Schaps 1977, *passim*), and when the orators named a woman during legal proceedings they may have been adopting a deliberate strategy for discrediting the family as a whole.[3]

Such measures lend support to the theory that at Athens many women would have spent much or most of their time within the confines of their own homes,[4] which seems to be implied by some textual sources (for example, in Euripides' *Troades* 647–649, in which Andromache says that she is forced to stay at home for fear of malicious gossip if she leaves the house). Nevertheless, even if this was the ideal, it is likely to have been attainable only for a limited group of households. It is probable that women had to work outside the home in order to supplement the family income (see, for example, Gould 1980, 48), a view which is supported by a number of references, both literary and epigraphic, to a range of occupations undertaken by women. These include selling produce in markets (for example Aristophanes *Wasps* 496f; *Thesmophoriazusae* 387 and 446–8; *Frogs* 1346–1350; *Ploutos* 426–7; *Lysistrata* 564), working as midwives (Demosthenes 57.44f), wet-nurses (Demosthenes 47.56; IG II/III² 9079; 9112; 10843; 12330; 12387) or in agriculture (Demosthenes 57.45; Hesiod *Works and Days* 405–6). In addition, the poor are said to have been forced to use both women and children to perform tasks which the wealthy were able to get slaves to do (Aristotle *Politics* 6.5.13). In most instances the status of the women concerned is difficult to determine, but in at least two instances the use of a patronymic suggests that citizen women worked outside the house, in these cases as wet-nurses (IG II/III² 7873 and 5514). The role women played in some cult activities has often tended to be overlooked, but it has recently been argued that they performed a key role in some civic cults (for example at Athens: Connelly 1996) and could undertake important official duties and occupy high priestly offices (Osborne 1993).

Painted pottery, too, shows scenes in which women are clearly outside the domestic context, although the interpretation of these scenes is complicated by the interpretative problems outlined above. The most common representation of this type generally occurs on black-figure *hydriai* (dating to the sixth century), where female figures are depicted fetching water at a public fountain. It is sometimes assumed that these are images of slaves, a belief based largely on the assumption that citizen women were secluded and could not therefore have performed this task (Williams 1983, 103–105). In fact, the vast majority of these, and other scenes in which women appear behaving in ways which modern commentators perceive as being unseemly for a respectable woman, offer no indication that these are not to be viewed as the wives of citizens (Bérard 1989, 89; Lissarrague 1992, 198). In some instances differences in the dress and hairstyles of female figures have been taken as distinguishing ladies from their maids (Himmelmann 1971, 16), but the same features have also been taken more recently as signifying differences in age, rather than in social status (Reilly 1989, 416f). It is a moot point, therefore, whether, if indications of social status had been included by the artist, they would be interpreted correctly by the modern viewer. In one fountain-house scene Lissarrague identifies the women involved as Thracian slaves on the basis of tattoos shown on their arms and legs (Lissarrague 1992, 198–199), but this does not exclude the possibility that alternative symbols are used in other scenes to distinguish between free- and slave-women, and that we are unable to identify or interpret them correctly.

Despite these interpretative problems, the iconographic sources add to the textual evidence suggesting that the traditional model of Athenian women kept in 'oriental seclusion' is likely to be, at best, an oversimplification of patterns of domestic social relations. Such evidence represents a male perspective, and modern anthropological studies have shown that a plurality of views often co-exist within a single society, for a variety of reasons. For example, the interpretation of the same pattern of behaviour can differ widely according to whether the informant is male or female (Olson 1982, esp. 41), or depending on social or economic background or place of residence. Furthermore, cultural ideals are not necessarily maintained in practice (Hirschon 1981, 80), so that there may be a disjunction between actual behaviour and the cultural norms which are articulated by the ancient writers (Cohen 1991, 18–24; compare Versnel 1987, 60). These observations help to explain how the traditional normative picture of Greek women being kept in complete isolation may have arisen, whilst at the same time supporting the idea, now widely favoured, that for most women this is likely to have been more of a rhetorical ideal than a behavioural reality (Just 1989, 118; Cohen 1989, 9; Cohen 1991, 148–163). The issue of seclusion is explored in detail below by looking at evidence for seclusion in the physical organisation of excavated houses.

The same amount of attention has not been paid to the nature of relationships between men and women within the household. As highlighted above, the pervasive image presented by the textual sources is of a house divided into separate male and female areas, and this has also contributed to an image of the wife's situation as one of isolation. Two texts in particular support this picture. They are reproduced here for this reason, and also because they offer the most detailed picture of the organisation of a household of any of our textual sources. Both accounts are by fourth-century authors, Xenophon and Lysias. Xenophon's description is the more detailed of the two. It occurs during a reported discussion about the running of the domestic economy, and offers an account by a householder, Ischomachos, of a guided tour in which he took his new wife around his house, explaining to her various points about its organisation:

> [our house] is not decorated with many ornaments . . . the rooms are built to house the things we want to put in them, and so each room is suited to its purpose. So the *thalamos* ['inner chamber'] is in a secure place and calls for the most valuable blankets and equipment, the dry rooms of the building are for the corn, the cool ones for the wine, those that are well lit are for the work and equipment that need light. I showed her [sc. 'my wife'] decorated *diaititeria* ['living rooms'] for people, which are cool in the summer but warm in winter. I showed her how the whole house extends southwards, so that it was clear that in the winter it is sunny, but shady in summer. I also showed her the *gunaikonitis* ['women's apartments'], divided from the *andronitis* ['men's apartments'] by a bolted door, so that nothing can be taken from inside which should not be, and the inhabitants cannot have children without us knowing.
>
> Xenophon *Oikonomikos* 9.2–5[5]

Lysias' description is much briefer: in order to demonstrate that his wife is an adulteress, the speaker, Euphiletos, gives an outline of the organisation of space in his house with the aim of explaining how his wife could have taken a lover without his knowledge:

> my little house is on two floors, with equal space upstairs and down for the '*gunaikonitis*' ['women's quarters'] and the '*andronitis*' ['men's quarters']. When our child was born its mother fed it; so that she should not endanger herself going downstairs each time the baby had to be washed, I lived upstairs and the women below.
> Lysias 1, 9–10

The element of the household which occurs in both these texts, and which has dominated modern discussions of the physical organisation of ancient Greek houses, is the allusion to the two areas termed *andron* and *gunaikon* (or the longer versions, *andronitis* and *gunaikonitis*). No direct equivalent exists for these words in English, but they are clearly close to the ancient Greek words for man and woman (*aner* and *gune*), and are habitually interpreted as meaning 'men's quarters' and 'women's quarters' respectively, in the context both of literary texts (Travlos 1960, 21 and 63–64) and of inscriptions (for example Hellmann 1992, 49–50 and 99[6]). This led scholars to the picture of the divided household mentioned above. In reality, however, we have little understanding of the significance of the two words or of how the spaces with these names would have been used. The way in which we translate them and our stress on their gender associations may well be misleading in relation to the total range of the activities carried out there or the identities of their expected occupants. Even setting aside these considerations, we have no evidence as to how representative either of these two examples is of actual practice, either of the Greek world as a whole or even of Athens alone.

Viewed in the context of more fragmentary references, Xenophon's use of the two terms to refer to areas occupied by male and female slaves is unusual. The use of the *andron* which is most frequently suggested by the literary sources is as a setting for the *symposium* or drinking party. It is normally assumed that the *symposium* was a largely male affair, and that female members of the host's or his guests' families would not have been present (Isaios 3.13–14; Vitruvius 6.7.4; Cornelius Nepos *Lives* pr. 1.6.3). Nevertheless, it should be noted that much of the evidence for this is Roman, and post-dates the period studied here by several centuries. Even if these authors reflect the normal practices of Greece at the time they wrote, behaviour did not necessarily remain constant over time so that these sources cannot necessarily be relied upon to give a picture of social behaviour in Greece several centuries earlier. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that such social *mores* were subject to relatively rapid change. A hundred years before the period covered here, it seems that there were at least some areas of Greece where it was acceptable for women to appear before men who were not members of their own households. The poet Semonides, writing on the Cycladic island of Amorgos, includes amongst his caricatures of women a reference to the way in which some women are perceived by male visitors when they come to the house (Semonides, fragment 7, line 29).

Furthermore, it is possible that when male guests were in the house, patterns of behaviour were not always as clear-cut as we tend to assume: numerous scenes on painted pottery depict women mixing with men as they recline on couches and drink.

The problem of to what extent such illustrations are a useful source of information has already been discussed. Nevertheless, the appearance of men and women together in what are apparently domestic scenes contradicts the limited literary evidence on the subject. The explanation usually adopted has been to argue that these women were not respectable members of the household, but *hetairai* or courtesans. This fits in with the role they generally seem to be playing, which is entertaining the men by playing the flute, or joining in drinking games and other activities (compare Schmitt and Schnapp 1982, 61 n.14; Bérard 1989, 89). Nevertheless, as with the images of women visiting public fountain houses, mentioned above, it is difficult to specify particular features which distinguish them from the wives of citizens. There is even less evidence of what patterns of behaviour were the norm when guests were not in the house: we do not know, for example, whether male and female family members routinely spent time together, and whether the *andron* may have been used for family occasions as well as for the *symposium*.

In comparison with the *andron*, the nature of the *gunaikon* is even more difficult to investigate. It has often been assumed that it was located in an upper storey and that the arrangement adopted by Euphiletos (in the passage of Lysias quoted above) is a reversal of this normal pattern. Homer's Penelope, too, seems to have occupied an upstairs room from which she was able to spy on prospective suitors in the hall below, although the Homeric poems are of doubtful value as a source for the period under discussion here.[7] A further source sometimes cited in support of this view is Demosthenes' description of how some of the female slaves belonging to the Trierarch's family fled up into the *pyrgos* (literally the 'tower') of his house, where they normally lived, in order to escape a group of strange men who had burst into the court with the aim of reclaiming some property (Demosthenes 47, 53–61). It is, however, by no means clear that this is a space which the free women of the household would normally occupy, nor that their male relations would have been excluded. Aristophanes depicts a newly married couple who sleep together upstairs, with no indication of whether the room they use is theoretically supposed to belong specifically to either husband or wife (Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 481f). Finally, there is at least one instance in which it seems unlikely that the upper-storey of the house was used as the *gunaikonitis*, since this is where a male guest was accommodated for the night (Antiphon *Prosecution for Poisoning* 14). On the evidence provided by these passages, the case for classifying the *gunaikonitis* as a feature of upper-storey rooms is not conclusive, and its location and function are questions which are examined in detail in relation to the archaeological evidence.

Iconographic evidence is of no more help than the written sources in reconstructing the physical appearance of the *gunaikon* since, aside from a symbolic column or door, it is rare for architectural detail to be shown in painted scenes (Lissarrague and Schnapp 1981, 282). Women are depicted taking part in a variety of activities, including attending to their appearance, looking after children, spinning, and occasionally reading or playing musical instruments to each other. Nonetheless, while these may be used as a general guide to the types of activities which women may have undertaken, it is impossible to demonstrate which, if any, would have been carried out in the *gunaikon* and which would have been performed elsewhere in the house. Indeed, if these scenes are to be interpreted as showing female areas of the house to which men would not have been admitted, it is questionable whether the painters would have been in a position to create realistic designs on the basis of personal knowledge; as mentioned above, our limited evidence suggests that many or most painters are likely to have been male and are unlikely to have been wealthy or of high status, so that they may not have had access to any exclusively female area in a relatively wealthy household.

So far this sketch has been based mainly on Athenian evidence owing to the shortage of material from elsewhere in the Greek world. The degree of similarity between the Athenian *oikos* and households in other Greek states is unclear, but there is some evidence to suggest that radically different social structures may have underpinned the Peloponnesian city of Sparta, together with a range of cities in Crete which were traditionally thought to have a common heritage and which shared certain linguistic and constitutional similarities. Most of our information on this question is derived from Athenian writers, and it is uncertain to what extent the picture they offer may have been coloured by a desire to depict Sparta as completely different from Athens (Redfield 1977–8, 147). The Spartan social pattern which they describe is substantially different from that of Athens in many respects. Women are said to have been allowed much more freedom and to have been expected to take part in physical training in order to prepare their bodies for childbearing (Xenophon *Spartan Constitution* 1.3). The female body itself seems not to have been hidden from view. Instead, women were probably dressed in a manner appropriate to an active life beyond, as well as before, puberty (Cartledge 1981, 91f) leading to accusations of inappropriate behaviour from Greeks from other areas (for instance by Aristotle *Politics* 2.6.5–6). Men, too, are said to have undergone rigorous physical training, with various repercussions for family and social life: boys were reportedly removed from the domestic context at an early age and educated by the state, sleeping in communal dormitories (Plutarch *Life of Lykurgus* 16.4 and 7). Even when married, a husband is said to have continued to reside with his contemporaries until the age of thirty, only seeing his wife on brief visits to the *oikos* (*ibid.*, 15.3–5). The comradeship between men is said to have continued even beyond this time, with communal meals away from the household in dining groups or *syssitia* (Aristotle *Politics* 2.9.158–169). Even if they are exaggerated, such reported contrasts emphasise the importance of exploring domestic social relations outside Athens, rather than using Athens as a model for the whole Greek world without questioning whether it is likely to have been representative.

In sum, a number of major questions cannot be approached satisfactorily using existing written evidence because of the shortage of suitable material, and the social and geographical biases inherent in that which is available. In contrast, the archaeological remains of houses represent direct evidence of the activity which took place in ancient Greek households, and also offer a number of other advantages over more traditional sources. The next chapter considers the potential of such evidence and examines the way in which it has been used in the past.

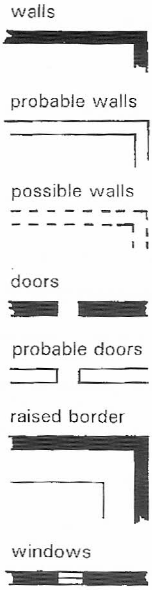
2

Approaches to the material record

Chapter 1 outlined some of the issues surrounding the nature of the Greek *oikos* or household and its relationship with the wider community, raising as a problem some of the limitations of written evidence as a source. A number of these difficulties can be avoided by approaching these questions through archaeological material. In contrast with written sources, archaeological remains of houses represent direct evidence of the activities which took place in ancient Greek households. Archaeological material therefore potentially allows the investigation of individual households from a variety of different social and economic strata, from a range of geographical locations[1] and at different points in time. Such evidence therefore side-steps many of the geographical, social and economic biases which affect the more traditional sources. This chapter looks at previous work on the excavated remains of Greek houses and demonstrates that, despite these advantages, archaeological evidence has not been widely used as a source of information on social relations within and between Greek *oikoi*. Some of the reasons for this are explored and a variety of interpretative problems raised which need to be addressed. Reference to related fields shows that such problems have been resolved in other contexts and that, although no universally applicable methodology has been developed which can be directly transferred to the Greek context, the archaeological remains of Greek houses have much to tell us about their erstwhile inhabitants, given an effective analytical methodology and a rigorous interpretative framework.

Previous work on the archaeological remains of Greek households

Historically, studies of the Greek domestic context have tended to concentrate on various aspects of the appearance and architecture of houses rather than on what they might be able to tell us about the society which produced them. Some of the first Greek houses to be investigated were those excavated at Delos in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, where entire residential blocks dating mainly from the second and first centuries BC, are preserved to a height of several metres (for example Paris 1884; Couvé 1895; Jardé 1905; Jardé 1906; Chamonard 1906; Bizard 1907; Plassart 1916; Chamonard 1922; Chamonard 1924). Early studies focused on trying to assimilate the archaeological remains found here and in other locations to descriptions of houses given in literary sources, combining passages from a wide range of dates in order to establish a generalised picture of 'the Greek house' (Fyffe 1936, 137, 141). Houses known through excavation, and often those reconstructed on the basis of literary evidence, were placed in an evolutionary plan which saw structures like those on Delos as developing ultimately from Late Bronze Age palatial



Conventions used within these figures

buildings and the palaces of the heroes described in the Homeric poems (Gardner 1882, 28; Rider 1916, *passim*). This series of Greek houses was seen as having in its turn given rise to the Roman *atrium* houses which were already known from Herculaneum and Pompeii (Gardner and Jevons 1898, 32; Harsh 1935 19; Graham 1966).

As increasing numbers of Classical and Hellenistic Greek houses have been excavated at many different sites, the organisation of the archaeological material into a typology has become a major subject of interest. Greek houses of the fifth, fourth and third centuries are almost invariably built around an open courtyard, which usually has a portico along at least one side.[2] Following the description of Greek houses given by the Roman architect Vitruvius in the first century BC (Vitruvius 7.1–7), the design of this portico has been used as a basis for drawing up an architectural typology consisting of three main types, each of which was the dominant type found during excavation of a major type-site. The *prostas* house is defined on the basis of the structures found at Priene by Schraeder at the beginning of this century (Wiegand and Schraeder 1904; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 323). Here, the portico consists of a narrow porch which projects in front of the main range of rooms (Figure 1). In the *pastas* house, which was defined with reference to the houses excavated at Olynthos (discussed in detail in Chapter 4), a rather longer portico stands in front of the main range of rooms and is more integrated into the architecture of the house as a whole (Figure 2). The third main type, the *peristyle* house, was found at Delos and also occasionally at Olynthos, and has a colonnaded porch which runs around three or four sides of the court (Figure 3). This has sometimes been seen

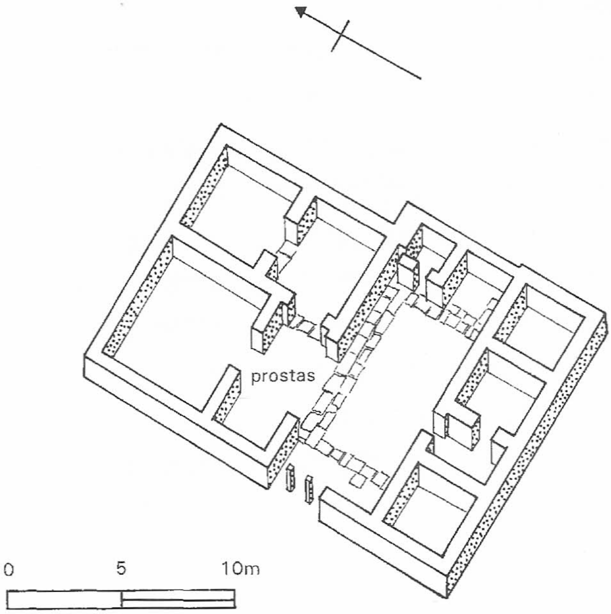


Figure 1. Axonometric reconstruction of a *prostas* house: Abdera, house C

as a variant of the *pastas* type but with the portico extended to more sides of the court (Boëthius 1940, 237 and Graham 1966, 4f; *contra* Harsh 1935, 41). As a result of more recent excavations a fourth type, the *Herdraumhaus*, has been added to this list, based on excavation of two sites in north-western Greece (Figure 4). This is not defined on the basis of the design of the portico in the court, but is characterised instead by the presence of a large internal space (absent in the other three types) which often had a central hearth and which constitutes the most prominent feature of the plan (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 146–154 and 323). The usefulness of this system of architectural classification is assessed in Chapter 5 in relation to the archaeological evidence from a range of sites in Greece, but it is important to note that the use of the ancient terminology can potentially be misleading: Vitruvius lived some three centuries or more after the construction of the houses which these terms are used to describe, and it is uncertain whether his language is applicable to the earlier structures.

The vast majority of studies of domestic material have consisted of reports of individual excavations which look mainly at the architectural features of particular structures or groups of structures on a single site and place them within this pre-existing *prostas/pastas/peristyle* typology. Such studies vary considerably, not only because of the heterogeneous nature of the material with which they are dealing (very different numbers of houses have been excavated at the different sites, and there is considerable variation in the standard of preservation), but also according to the aims of the excavators, which have led them to focus on different aspects of the archaeology and to record the architecture and finds in varying degrees of detail.

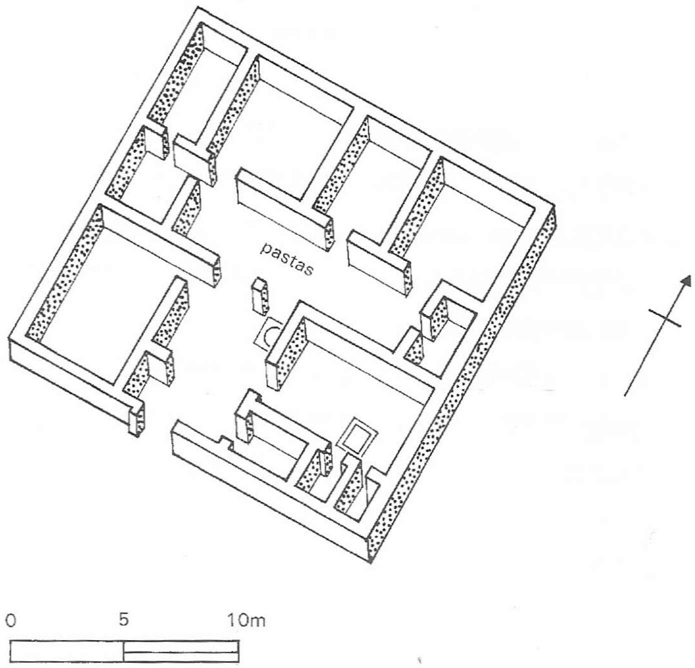

pastas
0
5
10m

Figure 2. Axonometric reconstruction of a *pastas* house: Olynthos house AVII 6

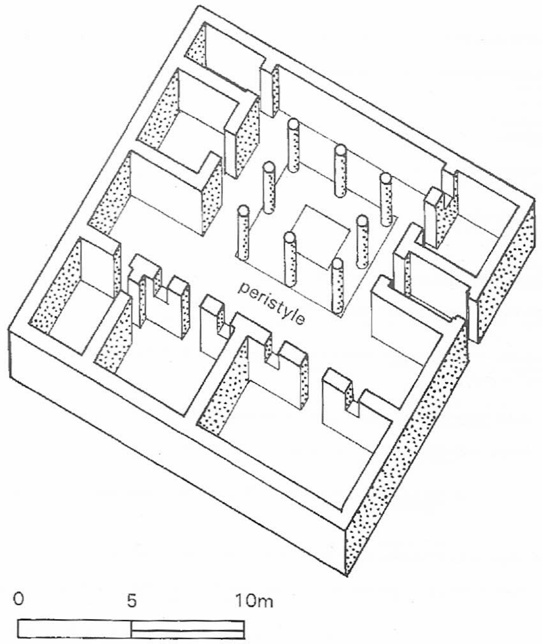

peristyle
0
5
10m

Figure 3. Axonometric reconstruction of a *peristyle* house: Delos, maison de la colline

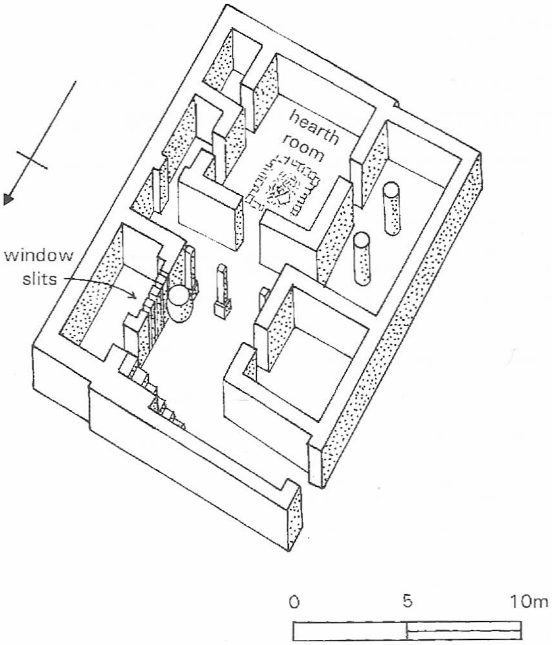


Figure 4. Axonometric reconstruction of a *Herdraum* house: Ammotopos, house 1

Financial and other considerations also govern the amount of excavation undertaken at any one site and the detail in which it can be reported. The large scale and detailed recording of the excavation undertaken by Robinson at Olynthos, which was published in comprehensive detail between 1928 and 1956, is exceptional (see below, Chapter 4). The failure to find the remains of any major public buildings at the site led to detailed analysis of the architectural organisation of the houses and concentrated study of the artefacts found in them. Based on their work the excavators put forward a number of generalisations about the houses at the site, which were taken as presenting a normative picture of 'the Greek house' of the early fourth century (Robinson and Graham 1938, especially 141–147). They also sought to relate their archaeological data to descriptions of houses found in textual sources. One consequence of this is that some of the architectural units they found are given Greek names (as, for instance, Mylonas' '*oikos*-unit', a large room with a hearth – see below p. 66 and Figure 12). Although this fits in with the prevailing typological approach, it is important to note that there is a fundamental problem with applying any ancient terminology to an excavated feature, which is that it is difficult to demonstrate a secure link between the two. (This is an obstacle which underlies the application of ancient terminology to archaeological remains in general: compare Allison forthcoming in relation to Roman houses, and below Chapter 3 in relation to ancient names for pottery vessels.) Such identifications inevitably represent modern coinages of ancient terms and are sometimes used erroneously in order to draw conclusions about the activities carried out in particular spaces using textual evidence, but without independent confirmation of use through analysis of the archaeological context. In discussion of the archaeological material in the following chapters, such terms are generally avoided, and are used only where they refer to designations made by the original excavators. One exception to this is in the case of the *andron*, which the architecture does strongly suggest was used for the kinds of activities associated with it in the textual sources.

Since the work at Olynthos, studies of comparable detail at other sites have been limited by cost and have therefore involved much smaller numbers of houses, as for example at Halieis (Ault 1994) and Halos (Reinders 1983), both discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Elsewhere other projects, often in rescue situations, have produced only brief preliminary reports which sometimes lack a plan of the excavated area, and use the finds only to establish the date of the structure, lacking the opportunity to undertake a detailed study of the objects in daily use.

In general, then, much previous work has focused on the limited goals of creating architectural typologies or unravelling the chronological sequence of structures on individual sites. Only very recently have these specific interests been broadened to incorporate more general questions about social life in the Greek world. A key discussion is Walker's exploration of the women in Greek households (Walker 1983). Within the limits of a short article Walker takes the significant step of recognising the importance of the physical organisation of the domestic environment as a key to understanding social relationships: the range of activities which different members of the household carry out is intimately connected with the facilities they need, and this is important in the organisation of the house as a whole. Walker's study also recognises the role ethnographic parallels can play in this process, although her interpretation of the archaeological evidence is shaped by assumptions derived from the literary texts, leading to interpretation of a small number of excavated houses in support of the seclusion argument.

Lengthier recent studies of the Greek house have tended to be more conservative. For example, in a continuation of the interests shown by previous scholarship, Pesando views the excavated remains as part of a strict developmental progression (Pesando 1989, *passim*). Some questions about social models are raised (Pesando 1987, 9), but they are not directly addressed using archaeological evidence; instead the literary evidence takes pride of place and the archaeology is assessed against it (*ibid.*, *passim*). Here a reliance on literary sources, to help reconstruct the house either as a space or as a key to the interpretation of the archaeological remains, serves to limit both the questions addressed and the validity of any conclusions. The author therefore chooses not to engage with the kinds of broad social questions raised here, and concentrates instead on the physical aspects of the domestic environment.

An alternative approach has been to integrate discussion of the organisation of houses into wider consideration of the architecture and organisation of cities as a whole. In this context the fact that, architecturally speaking, houses tend to be relatively unimpressive in comparison with public buildings has meant that they have tended to receive only a brief mention of form and decoration (for example Plommer 1956, 202–205; Robertson 1969, 297–302). More recent works have more success-fully viewed the house as an integral part of the urban (or rural) fabric, bringing together information on both domestic architecture and public buildings, and considering them together within the framework of urban planning as whole. One example is the two-volume study by Coppa, which covers an impressively broad geographical area and pays a comparatively generous amount of attention to domestic buildings (Coppa 1981). The most notable work of this type is the recent comprehensive study of the organisation of urban space in the Classical Greek world by Hoepfner and Schwandner (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994 – an expanded second edition of the book first published in 1986), in which the interpretation of the archaeological material is strongly influenced by the ideological perspective taken. At an abstract level, Hoepfner and Schwandner make a connection between architecture and layout, and the social and political ideals of Greek society. This leads them to propose that an ideal of democracy and equality lay behind the regular grid plans used during the fifth and fourth centuries. Hoepfner and Schwandner's work constitutes a milestone for a variety of reasons: in contrast with other studies of urban architecture and planning, detailed discussion is devoted to the domestic, as well as to the civic architecture. More importantly, these various aspects of the urban fabric are considered within a single wide-reaching argument which links spatial organisation and social structures. In doing this the authors are recognising the potential of the material record as a source, and are raising discussion of architectural space in Greek cities beyond the primarily descriptive. At a practical level this work brings together a vast quantity of information from different sites in order to create a comparative picture at the scale of the Greek world as a whole, rather than considering individual settlements in isolation. In taking these steps the authors recognise that we can realistically hope to use architectural evidence as a tool for investigating large-scale social trends, whilst at the same time discussing individual sites in detail.

Despite these revolutionary developments, even Hoepfner and Schwandner to some extent fall into the methodological trap, noted above, of using archaeology to illustrate hypotheses derived from readings of the textual evidence, rather than as an independent source. This means that the full potential of the material is not exploited, and it also brings other associated problems. Amongst these is a tendency to reconstruct buildings so that they fit in with the preconceived theories set up on the basis of the literary evidence (see Etienne 1991, 41). In addition, various difficulties have since been raised with the use of such a broad and relatively straightforward explanatory framework. These include doubts over the degree of correspondence between the time at which the democratic ideology emerged and at which the standardised house-type appeared (Schuller 1989), and debates over the extent to which the idea of democracy should be equated with a belief in *isonomia* or the equal allotment of property (Hennig 1989).

Nevertheless, the book remains a milestone in the study of Greek architecture as a whole, and has since been joined by a number of short articles which link the architecture of the *polis* with its wider social and political context (for example Jameson 1990; Hölscher 1991; Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994; Walter-Karydi

1994; Walter-Karydi 1996). There has also been a subsequent florescence of studies of Greek houses at individual sites which have sought to look beyond the immediate archaeological and architectural problems raised by the structures themselves. Among these an article by Reber focusing on the houses from Eretria takes as its starting point Vitruvius' comments on Greek houses, but extends into a detailed discussion of the significance of the architecture of two of the Eretrian houses in social terms (Reber 1988).

A full-length study which also followed in the wake of Hoepfner and Schwandner's publication is Cahill's doctoral thesis on the houses excavated at Olynthos (Cahill 1991).[3] Cahill's work is notable for breaking away from the obsession with the literary sources which had dominated earlier discussions of Greek houses. Instead, he presents a detailed analysis of the archaeological material which supports many of the interpretations of the excavators, but which is based on systematic evaluation of the data. His statistical analysis also prompts him to emphasise the variability in domestic organisation at the site, rather than focusing on the similarities between structures, as was previously done by the excavators themselves and other commentators (for example Boëthius 1948, 396–400). The conclusions he draws from this about zoning of activity within the city as a whole, and about the social context for the construction of the houses, are particularly perceptive (Cahill 1991, 212–252; 376–384).

A detailed analysis of a broad range of archaeological evidence from a number of sites, which offers conclusions about the society which constructed them, is the recent book by Kiderlen (Kiderlen 1995; discussed in detail in Nevett 1997b). In some respects this book comes full circle back to the kinds of developmental models presented by the early studies. Kiderlen seeks to trace the development of an unusually large, elaborate form of house which he identifies as 'aristocratic'. He argues that this house-form is a direct descendant of the Late Bronze Age palaces and that archaeological evidence for such structures can be seen as early as the Archaic period. Nevertheless, his argument is unconvincing given that he does not set his 'aristocratic' examples in the context of other contemporary domestic architecture, so that it is not made clear to what extent and in what respect the structures discussed are exceptional. Furthermore, the evidence for unusually large houses before the early fourth century is very scarce; indeed, the only three archaeological examples which Kiderlen can find are all surrounded by interpretational difficulties, and he suggests new and controversial readings of the material which differ from those of the original excavators. Because of these problems Kiderlen's argument is unconvincing. Nevertheless, as the previous studies of individual sites noted above indicate, this does not mean that archaeological evidence cannot be used to address social questions; instead it highlights the importance of a rigorous programme of research, designed to meet the goals demanded of it, and an inductive methodology which does not impose preconceived conclusions on the data.

In sum, past studies of the archaeological remains of Greek housing have until recently tended to focus on the architectural details, without considering the way in which the houses functioned as living spaces. Where consideration has been given to the relationship between the architecture and its inhabitants, the interpretation of the archaeology has frequently tended to be dominated by assumptions based on textual evidence. One likely reason for this is the strength of the study of literature within the Classical tradition as a whole (see above p. 2). Nevertheless, the problem has also been increased by the interpretative difficulties involved in using archaeological material to reconstruct domestic activities and patterns of social interaction (compare Ault and Nevett forthcoming): it is not always easy to see how partial collections of architecture and objects can tell us about the people who once used them.

Domestic architecture and social relations: some basic assumptions

The failure to use archaeology as an independent source of information about Greek households does not mean that it cannot be employed more widely and effectively; on the contrary, a considerable amount of research from a range of different academic disciplines demonstrates the importance of domestic space in shaping and maintaining social relationships, and supports the assumption that the physical remains of those spaces are a potentially valuable source. These conclusions have already served as a basis for investigating social relations in the context of prehistoric archaeology. Because they have not been used extensively for exploring these issues in the Greek context, it is relevant to discuss some aspects of this research which have some bearing on the Greek evidence. In no sense do these studies offer a set methodology which will provide a programme for analysing Greek houses. Nevertheless, they do offer examples of ways in which spatial organisation and social behaviour can be linked, helping to bridge the conceptual gap which exists between the archaeological record and the patterns of activity which produced it.

A range of cross-cultural studies in a number of related disciplines, including sociology, anthropology and architecture, have established the importance of social relations as an influence on the construction of living space. These are important in that they support the belief that archaeological evidence will allow us to study questions relating to social behaviour in the Greek world. It is clear that the architecture of a house represents a compromise between practical considerations, such as the available building materials and the environment in which the structure is located, and social and cultural factors which place specific demands on the kind of space which is created (Rapoport 1969, 46–60, especially 47; compare Childe 1956, 7). A dialectical relationship exists between architectural layout and social relations, in which the organisation of space is determined in part by the requirements of its occupants, whilst at the same time acting to channel their activity (Altman and Gauvin 1981, 312; Donley-Reid 1990, 115; 119–121). The organisation and appearance of any one house are the result of interplay between the norms of the society as a whole and the individuality of its owner (Altman and Gauvin 1981, 283). Thus, the physical organisation of a household is closely involved in the social interaction taking place within. In an archaeological context it is necessary to distinguish trends in domestic organisation from individual variation, and this can best be achieved by analysing a substantial sample of houses. The appearance and organisation of the domestic environment can also have symbolic significance for its inhabitants in ways which are very specific to a single culture: in some societies the entire house is seen as a microcosm (Norberg-Schultz 1985, 91), whilst in others particular aspects of spatial organisation can have cultural implications. Such symbolism may not always be immediately evident from the material record alone, but in the Greek context hints about perceptions of domestic organisation amongst a limited section of society can also be sought in the written record.

A range of ethnographic studies have dealt with closely defined issues in the context of a single society or community and have sought to shed light on particular aspects of social behaviour. Although not generally aimed at an archaeological audience, they are valuable in highlighting some of the ways in which our own ethnocentric assumptions may unconsciously affect our interpretation of the archaeological material. This is particularly important in disciplines like Classical Archaeology, where there is a long history of accumulated knowledge some of which was built up before there was any awareness of such biases. At a more specific level ethnographic studies also reveal the way in which material, cultural, social and symbolic dimensions can be interrelated in individual societies. They can therefore be used indirectly to suggest some of the aspects of the material record which might most fruitfully be explored in an archaeological context, in order to tackle some of the questions raised in Chapter 1. The issue of relations between men and women within the household, raised there as central in the ancient Greek context, has come under scrutiny from a number of ethnographers, and various aspects of the organisation of the interior of a house have been shown to be important in this context. At a basic level, the way in which rooms are organised relative to each other is closely connected with patterns of interaction. Amongst Swahili houses in Lamu, for example, the rooms are organised sequentially, with one leading into the next (Donley-Reid 1990, 120–121). This arrangement has the practical effect of isolating female family members, who occupy the innermost upper-storey rooms, from visitors, who are admitted only to the outermost rooms. One of the major reasons which has been suggested for the isolation of the Swahili wife from the outside world is that, since she is the producer of legitimate children, it is necessary to preserve her purity in order to ensure that of the lineage as a whole (Donley 1982, 67).

A number of analyses of other Islamic societies have also suggested that a similar concern with controlling the reproductive capacity of wives is present (Mernissi 1975, 79) although it is expressed in the physical organisation of space in different ways in different contexts (Small 1991). In many Islamic societies the rooms are constructed around open courtyards, so that they radiate from a central space rather than being organised sequentially. This arrangement results in a large number of private spaces, and in these cases alternative strategies are adopted for ensuring female purity. A desire to keep women secluded is often translated into a desire for privacy for the household as a whole, and a range of architectural devices designed to create and preserve a private environment can be observed in various aspects of house construction. Visual isolation can be achieved by using high walls and small windows (Bensilimane 1979, 7), and by constructing houses so that they do not overlook each other (Hakim 1986, 33–39). Entrance corridors are sometimes angled so as to obscure the view from the street into the interior of the house, even when the front door is open (Bensilimane 1979, 7; Hallet and Samizay 1980, 129). Within a house, there can also be occasions when separation is required between women and male guests, and again a variety of social and architectural devices are used to ensure that the two groups do not meet unintentionally. In some instances where little space is available, differential use is made of the same room, so that women may use it on some occasions, while men do so on others (Hansen 1961, 32–33; Khatib-Chahidi 1981, 115). In the traditional houses of Tunis, specialised areas are sometimes present in which male guests could be entertained, and these are located close to the entrance, so that there is no need for a guest to enter the main part of the house (Revault 1967, 71). Such houses make use of heavy, elaborate iron grilles which inhibit visual contact between interior and exterior and between different areas of the house (Revault 1967, 85f; Revault 1971, 47, 51 and 62). A slightly different pattern of male/female relations is found in traditional wealthy houses in the Iranian provinces, which provide separate spaces for male and female activity in the form of two distinct courts, one giving onto rooms predominantly used by male members of the family, the other giving onto rooms more often used by the women, although it also includes at least one room used by both sexes (Khatib-Chahidi 1981, 120).

Such societies offer examples of the way in which the organisation of domestic space is influenced by and influences the patterns of relationships between individuals. They also suggest some of the types of devices which may have been used in ancient Greek houses if similar social *mores* were operating, and illustrate some of the factors lying behind particular patterns of gender relationships. Nevertheless, they also show that in reality the situation can be far more complicated than has usually been visualised for the ancient Greek context. The degree to which social ideals such as the isolation of women are observed on a day-to-day basis has been shown to vary, even between different groups within a single society. One of the factors accounting for this variability is the economic resources of the household. For example, the kind of differential use of space by the two sexes recorded amongst wealthier Iranian households can be less marked among the less well-off, where there is sometimes much more contact between the two sexes (Khatib-Chahidi 1981, 120).

As we have seen, modern commentators have suggested in the context of ancient Athens that although seclusion of women may have represented the ideal way of life for a citizen family, for economic reasons it is likely to have been a practice followed only in the wealthier households. Ideally, therefore, in order to explore gender relationships within individual households fully, samples of houses from archaeological contexts need to encompass a range of economic variation, or at least to take into account the possible economic status of their original occupants. The extent to which it is possible to gauge the relative wealth of a household through the material record is therefore a question of major importance, although it is by no means straightforward. One measure which has been used by excavators in Greece is the area of ground which a house covers.[4] Investigation in the context of modern Iranian village society into the relationship between the ground area of a house and the wealth of its occupants suggests that there is some relationship between these two variables

(Kramer 1981, 103). But there are also other factors which influence house size. These include the number of inhabitants (Kramer 1979, 158; Kramer 1982, 119) and the stage in the life-cycle of the household which has been reached (that is, whether it has recently been set up with relatively few inhabitants, whether it is well established with a number of children and other dependants, or whether nearing the end of its life, after some members of the household have died or have matured and left). This work suggests that house size should be used as a measure of affluence only in connection with other aspects of domestic architecture, such as the relative expense of the construction materials (Kramer 1979, 157; Kramer 1982, 83).

As well as the organisation of space within the house, the way in which it is decorated is also closely involved in social relations. One approach to understanding architecture views the built environment from the perspective of non-verbal communication, as a medium for conveying messages using a system of visual signs which act as behavioural 'cues'. These may indicate, for example, which categories of people should and should not enter a specific space, and the kinds of behaviour and activities which are or are not appropriate in that space (for example Rapoport 1982, 170). They can also make individual statements about personal status (Rapoport 1982, 155) or demonstrate group affiliation and membership, such as the ethnicity of the occupants (Hunter-Anderson 1977, 293; Altman and Gauvain 1981, 286). One of the most promising aspects of this approach for archaeologists is the argument that similar meanings can be expected to be encoded in a number of different elements of the built environment, so that more cues will be used than are necessary to interpret correctly what is encoded (Rapoport 1982, 149–151; Rapoport 1990, 17). If this is indeed the case, then even taking into account the destruction of perishable artefacts and the confusion of what remains by post-depositional and recovery factors, at least some of the original cues may survive. This expectation holds out particular hope for work on Classical Greek cities: it is developed with reference to complex, pre-modern societies on the basis that in such contexts, where there are a large number of encounters per person, more guidance is needed to cope with those interactions. Rapoport argues that in such contexts the cues contained in the fixed-features (the architectural elements) are particularly likely to duplicate the messages which they convey to their viewers (*ibid.*, 145). If he is correct, then not only may sufficient cues remain for messages to survive, but also, they are most likely to be contained in those elements of the environment which are most often preserved in an archaeological context, namely the architecture. So, if an entry is made into the everyday symbolic system operating within Greek culture, then there is a good chance of using such cues in order to address questions regarding the patterns of social interaction. This kind of approach has already proved successful in the context of wealthy Roman houses, where the scale and decoration of rooms has been interpreted as conveying messages both about the nature of the owner of a house, and about the specific functions of individual rooms (Thébert 1987, 353–381; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 3–61).

Rapoport's ideas are developed in the context of non-verbal communication theory, but there is an ambiguity in his use of the communication metaphor in that it implies deliberate messaging, although this is not overtly stated. The question of intentionality is important in an archaeological context since it determines whether messages encoded in the built environment in a specific instance should be interpreted as representing actual patterns of behaviour, or whether they may to some extent have been projecting an ideal. In the ancient Greek context this would mean that the archaeological evidence would be open to one of the difficulties raised by the written sources, namely that in interpreting the material record we may be looking at cultural ideals rather than at social realities. This problem of intentionality is tackled by Erving Goffman (Goffman 1956), who proposes that although at one end of the spectrum conscious manipulation may take place, in an individual society there is actually a range of awareness of the extent to which different aspects of material culture may influence each other. The transmission of information using material culture, including through house construction, could therefore be either conscious or unconscious, depending on the individuals and circumstances in question. In archaeological contexts this means that it will be up to the archaeologist to be aware of the possibility of manipulation of the environment by those who originally shaped it, and to determine the balance which has been struck in any particular instance. With respect to the present study, the organisation of artefacts offers a means of looking at actual patterns of activity and, where available, acts as an independent check on the results produced by analysing the architecture alone. It should therefore be possible to begin to explore the extent to which architectural messages and patterns of behaviour are in agreement with each other. By isolating instances where it seems that the domestic environment was being consciously manipulated, we will gain an insight into the role played by the *oikos* within Greek social life as a whole.

In sum these different areas of research all indicate that there is a close connection between spatial organisation and social relations and that some features of the domestic environment which can be expected to survive in archaeological contexts should help us to begin to study social behaviour. Although until recently there has been little attempt to use the excavated remains of Classical Greek houses to look at such questions, such studies show how it is possible to begin to bridge the gap between archaeological remains and the households which once occupied them. Potentially, therefore, the archaeological remains of Greek houses should allow us to move beyond what has been possible using textual or iconographic evidence alone. Ethnographic work makes clear, however, that there is no single way in which the material record should be analysed in order to shed light on these issues. On the contrary, each particular ethnographically or archaeologically attested society demands the development of a methodology which is specifically designed to make best use of the evidence available, and is aimed at tackling the questions which are of interest in that particular context. In Chapter 3 a methodology is outlined for analysing and interpreting the remains of ancient Greek houses in order to address some of the questions which are raised at the beginning of this volume. That methodology is then applied in the chapters which follow.

3

From pots to people: towards a framework for interpreting the archaeological material

Interpreting the mute collections of artefacts and architectural remains which make up an archaeological assemblage, in terms of the activities of the people who once used them, is perhaps the single greatest challenge which needs to be met if archaeology is to be used to address the kinds of questions raised at the beginning of Chapter 1. It is frequently the case that discussions of the artefacts found in Classical Greek contexts during excavation devote relatively little attention to the way in which objects were used, concentrating instead on form and decoration. Study has also tended to be concentrated on valuable objects and fine pottery rather than on the plain and coarse pottery which in most cases makes up the vast bulk of the objects found. Similarly, discussions of the architectural contexts have tended to focus on the appearance and construction of buildings, rather than on reconstructing the patterns of activity which took place within them. Where uses are ascribed to rooms, the basis has often not been made explicit, and there may be a reliance on unjustified assumptions about the internal structuring of domestic space or about the uses of the objects found (compare Allison 1992, with reference to the Roman houses of Pompeii). In the context of the ethnographic work discussed in Chapter 2, which stresses the importance of setting aside ethnocentric assumptions and viewing each culture within its own context, it is necessary to develop a framework which will enable the archaeological material to be organised, analysed and interpreted in a meaningful way in relation to past activities, in order to link the surviving remains of the ancient domestic environment with the lives of its former inhabitants.

In this chapter a detailed survey of textual and iconographic evidence serves as a basis for setting up such an interpretative framework, offering a means of selecting and organising the archaeological material examined in subsequent chapters and a key to interpreting the patterns isolated there. Although it is argued in Chapter 1 that using textual and iconographic sources directly in order to explore the nature of social relations within Greek *oikoi* raises a number of problems, nevertheless, such evidence does include many incidental details relating to domestic life, which can be used to explore general underlying principles in spatial perception and behaviour. These sources therefore offer a valuable insight into some of the unique aspects of the perception and use of domestic space in the Greek cultural context. By their very nature literary and iconographic sources each have something different to contribute to the overall picture: by looking for individual details relating to the organisation of houses, the written evidence can be made to provide a broad outline of the way in which domestic space was regarded in practical and symbolic terms. The same evidence can also be used to explore associations between particular activities and specific members of the household.[1] Iconography offers a complementary view of the way in which particular types of objects found in archaeological contexts may have been used, and by whom. Again, although there are many interpretative problems involved, what are of interest here are the individual details, which represent a point of contact between the painter and the Greek viewer, and which are likely to come within the experience of both. It is therefore likely that such details bear some relation to actual practice, and this assumption is borne out by a network of associations between different vessels and the images which they carry (see below pp. 41–50).

Clearly, neither painted pottery nor textual sources offer a complete picture because they are still limited in the breadth of experience which they reflect, but by making use of the underlying assumptions and language of expression on which they rely for their coherence, we can gain an opening into Greek perceptions of space and the role of material culture in domestic contexts. This in turn will enable us to start to approach the remains of the Greek house from an ancient Greek perspective.

We begin by looking at textual evidence, in order to gain a picture of the way in which space in general was perceived and used in the context of the Greek world. One of the most problematic aspects of using textual sources to investigate ancient households, which is emphasised in Chapter 1, is the paucity of references providing sufficient detail to be helpful. In addition to the passages of Xenophon and Lysias quoted there, which are the most detailed descriptions of domestic environments to survive, we also have a number of more tangential references to specific elements of the domestic environment. Although these are too brief to offer a coherent picture of a household when taken individually, each sheds light on a particular aspect of the house. When taken as a group and viewed within a chronological framework, such passages offer important clues as to the way in which domestic space was regarded and used in Greek society. They also give specific indications about the furnishing of particular rooms or the location of activities in houses of higher status families, which are helpful in interpreting the archaeological record. Additional information is provided by inscriptions. Although exhaustive coverage of all epigraphic evidence is beyond the scope of this study (for discussion of epigraphically attested terms, see Orlandos and Travlos 1986; Hellmann 1992; Hellmann 1994), two specific groups of inscriptions are of particular importance and are therefore included here. The first is the group of inscriptions of inventories of movable possessions confiscated in Athens from a group of wealthy and prominent men suspected of profaning the Eleusinian mysteries or vandalising sacred images (the 'herms') in 415 BC. These record large numbers of domestic items which are listed ready for auction (Pritchett 1956; 1953; 1961). A second group consists of the inventories of the Temple Estates on Delos, which cover a period from 314 BC to 179 BC and describe various farmhouses on the island which were rented out for periods of ten years to tenant farmers (Kent 1948). In contrast with inventories from other historical contexts which have been used to document in detail the spatial organisation of households (for example Brown 1988, 81–82) we cannot assume that the various components are listed in any kind of significant order, and it is therefore impossible to draw conclusions about the spatial organisation of the properties in question (compare Brunet 1990a, 673, with specific reference to the Delian inventories). Nevertheless, they do offer a unique insight into the furnishing of the household and the value of household contents.

Approaching ancient Greek perceptions of domestic space

In the textual evidence a number of features recur as being distinctive of the way in which the domestic environment was organised and used in the ancient Greek context. One major characteristic which is apparent both in the passage of Xenophon's *Oikonomikos*, discussed in Chapter 1, and in other passages (Xenophon *Memorabilia* 3.8.8–10; Ps.-Aristotle *Oikonomika* 1.6.7), is the importance of designing the house in order to cope with, and to make the best of, the Greek climate. Temperatures on the Greek mainland vary considerably between summer and winter (for example in northern cities such as Thessaloniki the average temperature in January is less than 6°C, while in summer it can reach up to 44°C: Admiralty 1944, 89–91). Little technology was available to mitigate the effects of these climatic extremes beyond the use of hearths and portable braziers in winter. The details of the construction and organisation of a house would therefore have been an important factor in making it habitable throughout the year: the direction in which it faced would have affected the amount of sunlight reaching the interior, which, as the ancient sources comment, would have been desirable for warmth in winter but to be avoided in summer. Orientation would therefore have been a key factor in ensuring that the interior was as comfortable as possible, and that it provided a satisfactory temperature for the storage of comestibles all the year round.

In many cases emphasis is also placed on the importance of orderliness within the house, with everything assigned to its correct place. The Delian inscriptions, which refer to agricultural contexts, mention a variety of facilities which apparently served different purposes such as baking, agricultural storage and animal housing, indicating that a variety of relatively specialised functional areas were provided on individual farms (Kent 1948). This suggests that the segmentation of space into separate functional areas was important, and parallels the careful provision of different rooms for specific purposes in Ischomachus' house (Xenophon *Oikonomikos* 9.2–5), a concern also reflected in the Pseudo-Aristotelian corpus (*Oikonomika* 1.6.7–8). The attention given to the provision of storage areas supports the notion that certain types of activity, and particularly the storage of certain goods, was carefully planned for in the design of a house. (The fact that storage may not always have been such an important function in urban houses is suggested by Ps.-Aristotle: *Oikonomika* 1.6.2, who says that small Athenian houses do not keep their own stores.) Nevertheless, the Delian records offer no information about the spatial relationships between these different areas, and it is difficult to distinguish between spaces that were clearly individual rooms within a larger complex (for example, the *hyperoion* or upstairs room) and those which may well have been separate structures (such as the *achyron* or chaff store). Amongst the spaces recorded there are also a number whose names do not appear to have functional implications, such as *pyrgos* (tower) and *hyperoion* (upstairs), and these perhaps had a range of more generalised domestic uses. At any rate, in the epigraphic sources, some of these terms seem to have slightly different meanings in different contexts and they are listed in varying combinations on different farms (Osborne 1985a, 121–122).

Other factors also suggest that there may have been some degree of flexibility in the way in which some household spaces were used: the words *aulion* and *epaulis*, for example, are used to invoke a variety of meanings ranging from a country house or even a palace,[2] through to an animal shelter.[3] In other instances it is clear that a single space could have a range of uses depending on the circumstances. Epigraphic evidence records the rental of a property which serves the functions of both dwelling place (*oikesis*) and workshop (*ergasterion*) (I.G. II^2 2496). Change in the uses of different rooms in order to allow for changing family requirements is also attested (Lysias 1.9–10). All these practices have parallels in the ethnographic literature, and they suggest that the archaeological record must be carefully analysed bearing in mind the possibility of a wide range of behavioural patterns. In particular, possible changes in the use of a single space, either through time, or at different times of day or during different seasons, needs to be explored through detailed analysis of the objects used on a daily basis.

A further piece of evidence which also suggests that it may have been relatively easy to change the uses of some spaces is that in some contexts wooden architectural elements seem to have been included amongst the personal possessions of the inhabitants rather than being regarded as an integral part of the structure of the house, and were therefore presumably reasonably portable. Thucydides records the removal of wooden fittings from farm buildings when the Attic countryside was abandoned during the Peloponnesian war (Thucydides 2.14), and these kinds of fittings were also regarded as portable in less exceptional circumstances: in a number of rental documents houses are listed as being without doors (Kent 1948, 293; Osborne 1985a, 121), and in sale agreements doors are listed separately as part of the furniture (for instance Attic Stela V, line 3: Pritchett 1953, 265).

A final suggestion that space was used in a much more flexible manner comes from the fact that there is only very limited evidence for spaces associated with individual family members. One feature of many modern, western houses is the use of specific rooms by particular individuals. A classic example of this is the bedroom, which may perform a broad range of functions but is generally associated with only one or two household members. Although references to the Greek *thalamos* are usually translated as 'bedroom', there is little evidence to support a notion that Greek household space may have been personalised to the same degree. Only in one instance is it possible to suggest that limited groups of individuals may have had an association with a particular area or areas of the house, and this is the question of gendered space which was raised in Chapter 1. Aside from the passages cited there, in which direct reference is made to the *andron* and *gunaikon* (usually translated as 'male area' and 'female area'), the two terms are mentioned in a variety of other contexts. The idea of an opposition between *andron* and *gunaikon* is a theme of a number of different passages, which use the contrast in a metaphorical as well as a literal sense. This theme most commonly takes the form of a simile for opposites. (References include Plato *Timaeus* 70A; Aristotle *Dialogues* 12; Antisthenes *Progymnasmata* 215; Diogenes *Life* 6.59.8; Eustathius *Commentary on the Iliad* 2.301.14ff; *Commentary on the Odyssey* 2.164.15.) It seems unlikely that this contrast between *andron* and *gunaikon* would appear so frequently and in contexts where emphasis is obviously deliberately being sought, if the idea itself were not powerful and widespread, but the precise nature of the two areas, and the way in which they were used, remain to be explored.

As far as the physical appearance of the *andron* is concerned, our evidence is limited. From the fifth century onwards the space is seen as elaborately decorated (Aristophanes *Wasps* 1215) and one of the most important areas of the house (Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 244; *Choephori* 712; Herodotos 1.34.15). In the fourth century it is described specifically as the location of feasts (Xenophon *Symposium* 1.13.1; Aristophanes *Ecclesiazusae* 675f). Our evidence for the physical nature of the *gunaikon* is even more limited. We know nothing about its interior, and the assumption that it was located upstairs is based on the slim evidence of Lysias' description (Lysias 1.9–10) together with the fact that Homer's Penelope occupied upstairs apartments in the house of Odysseus (numerous references include *Odyssey* 16.449; 17.101; 18.302; 19.594).

The house as a whole also seems to have had a symbolic value. Demosthenes comments in a variety of contexts that the houses of the city's most prominent statesmen were, in the past, indistinguishable from those of the more ordinary citizens (*Olynthiacs* 3.25–6; *On Organisation* 29; *Against Aristocrates* 207). Although it is impossible to judge whether this was in fact the case or whether it is a theme introduced for the sake of argument, the mere fact that housing is mentioned in this way suggests that its external appearance must have carried some significance during the mid-fourth century, when Demosthenes was writing, and that the type of housing which it was appropriate to construct was perhaps an issue at this time. I consider this question further below in relation to the archaeological evidence.

Specific symbolic associations seem to have attached to various parts of the house: the hearth often represented the house as a whole (Euripides *Andromache* 593), not only because this is seen as the centre of the house in physical terms, but also because of other associations which perhaps stem from the importance of fire itself as an element for warming, lighting and cooking. The hearth has religious implications in Aeschylus (*Seven against Thebes* 275), and is associated with the sun (Aristotle *Fragmenta Varia* 5.203). It also features as a place of supplication, not only in Homer (*Odyssey* 6.305–312), but also at a later date in Andocides (*On the Mysteries* 44.2).[4]

From the range of references discussed so far country houses, at least, seem to have been provided with a combination of spaces which had specific agricultural uses and acted as storage areas and locations for particular agricultural tasks. There is an apparent tension between the storage and agricultural functions, which required careful organisation of space, and other areas, whose names do not seem to have been connected with any particular activity and which may well have served for a broader range of domestic purposes. It seems possible that ambiguity in the use of terminology indicates a lack of specialisation in the use of space, with similar activities taking place in various locations. Further, a combination of different activities could have been undertaken within a single area, either simultaneously or at different times of the day, or during different seasons. This would have been made easier by the fact that household fittings, which in a modern western context we would consider fixed, were clearly moved around. It is unclear to what extent rooms with specialised functions are likely to have been found alongside more general purpose spaces in urban houses as well as farms. If, however, it is correct to assume that most households, whether based in town or country, were ultimately dependent on agricultural produce for their survival, then it seems likely that similar ranges of facilities will have been required, although the constraints on space within city walls may have meant that different functions were combined in the same space in a town house to a greater degree. Again, this is a question which is explored in the following chapters using the archaeological data.

Although far from comprehensive, this general survey offers indications of some of the differences between modern western urbanised patterns in the use of domestic space and the way in which it may have been perceived and used in the ancient Greek world, giving an idea of some of the aspects of the archaeological record which are likely to be most informative. In the remainder of this chapter both textual and iconographic evidence are used to look at the extent to which a network of more specific associations can be established between household members, types of objects and activities within the domestic context. Such associations represent the key to bridging the gap between the archaeological remains of houses and the people who once occupied them, and therefore provide the basis for a method of organising and analysing the archaeological material.

Searching for individuals in the archaeological record

Activities associated with particular household members in textual sources

In addition to the husband and wife, who formed the central relationship of the *oikos*, the household is likely to have included, at various stages during its life-cycle, other members, including children, elderly parents and probably also slaves. A challenge of the archaeological evidence is how to differentiate between these individuals. One possible approach is to use textual evidence to distinguish particular pursuits which might have been performed only by a limited group of individuals. In the case of the elderly, there is no indication that there were specific activities which they might have carried out and which might make them visible in the archaeological record. On the contrary, it has been argued that they would have continued to perform whatever tasks they were still capable of, in order to contribute to the household economy for as long as they were able (Garland 1990, 256–258). Similar conditions apply to any attempts to locate children: young children may have spent time with the women of the household (Garland 1990, 134; Golden 1990, 123–125). Older children were probably involved in similar activities to adults, sometimes contributing their labour to the household economy (Golden 1990, 32–36), and also appearing at social occasions with friends and family (*ibid.*, 36–38).

Household slaves appear frequently in literary references of all kinds. In archaeological studies of a few large Roman houses, particular areas have been identified as accommodation designed for the specific use of slaves (for example at Settefinestre: Celuzza 1985, 171–181; Carandini 1988, 198–201), although these identifications are not undisputed. In Greek contexts the textual evidence shows them undertaking a number of tasks within the domestic context: in addition to the passage from Xenophon quoted in Chapter 1, where slaves apparently sleep in the *andron* and *gunaikon*, there are other references to slave activity, which include, for female slaves, assisting with child-care (as in Lysias 1, discussed above); the tasks of male slaves include answering the door (Plato *Symposium* 174E) or working in the kitchen (Menander *Samia* 145–147).[5] Although such references are relatively numerous, we have no evidence that these activities were performed solely by slaves, and the likelihood is that the distribution of such work would have depended on the number of slaves available in any one household and on the amount of work required. The range of tasks carried out by household slaves also seems to have taken them into a variety of different parts of the house, and there is no evidence in either town or country for specific slave quarters. Because it is difficult to distinguish slaves from individuals of other status, the iconographic evidence is no more helpful. In short, it is not possible to use either textual or iconographic evidence to suggest any specific correlates of slavery which might be identifiable amongst the archaeological remains of houses.

One of the few types of activity which appear to be strongly associated with a particular group, and which can be located using archaeological evidence, are the crafts of weaving and spinning. There is strong emphasis placed on such activities as being strictly a woman's task, through from Homer (for instance *Odyssey* 1.356 and *Iliad* 6.491–492) to later writers (for example Parthenius 14.3.4–7; Greek Anthology 7.424.5–6; Alexander Aetolus 3.3–4; Epictetus *Discourses* 3.22.108.2–3), and weaving is seen as a fit way for a destitute woman to earn her own living (Greek Anthology 7.726.2–4). In contrast, the idea of a male performing this type of activity is seen as an incongruity (Alexis Comic *Fragments* 155–7.1) except where production amounts to a full-time occupational specialisation (Plato *Cratylus* 388.c.5f; compare Thompson 1981–2). (A similar picture is given by representations on painted pots of figures engaged in spinning, and also occasionally weaving, which are invariably female.) It seems safe, then, to assume that finds of equipment for weaving or spinning in the domestic context are likely to indicate activity by women, although there is no way to distinguish between the activities of slaves and those of women of higher status.

In view of the pervasive differences between the statuses of citizen and slave or individuals of different ages categories, certainly in Athenian society and probably also in other parts of the Greek world, it is perhaps surprising that there is not more evidence of differences in the activities which these individuals would have performed within the household. This can partly be explained by the limited coverage of the literary sources, which include only a small number of descriptions encompassing a limited range of household activity, as well as by the problems of distinguishing in the iconography between figures with different statuses. Nevertheless, it also seems likely that a desire to maximise the productivity of the household as a whole would have meant that labour was used in a flexible manner.

Artefacts associated with particular household members in iconographic sources

In the absence of textual evidence for specific activities being performed by different categories of occupants within the house, it is necessary to look for objects which may betray their presence. This process requires detailed discussion because of the methodology required to establish the associations of the different artefact types. Since the majority of the artefacts recovered during excavation are ceramics, pottery is the focus here, although other objects are also mentioned more briefly.

Although we can use literary evidence in order to look at which individuals undertook particular activities, in the search for links between objects and individuals painted pottery is our only source of evidence for two reasons: firstly, the number of literary references where particular objects are mentioned is relatively small, and secondly, and more significantly, identifying the items mentioned in texts with those found in the archaeological record represents an insuperable obstacle. Although ancient names are commonly given to excavated objects, we have no way of ensuring that we are applying the terms to the items which they would originally have designated. Indeed there is good evidence for suggesting that our own use of terminology is often much more precise, and sometimes very different from that of the classical world. A demonstration of this comes from the names used for pottery. Diverse vessels of different shapes, sizes and fabrics survive from the ancient world, and modern scholars use a large number of different terms to describe them (see, for example, Kanowski 1983, *passim*). A small selection of vessels from various parts of the Greek world have their names inscribed upon them. These include a variety of different cup- and bottle-shapes designated by a number of ancient names. A comparison of the names applied by modern archaeologists with those inscribed on them suggests two conclusions: firstly, the terms used now tend to be different from those which were originally applied to a particular shape. Secondly, a selection of terms seem to have been used interchangeably in ancient times to indicate a wide range of shapes. The only true distinction which seems to have been drawn was between two different groups of names which were used for open cups and for closed bottle-shapes respectively (see Figure 5). In short, it would be a mistake to use written evidence to try to establish the uses of particular shapes of vessel found in archaeological contexts when all we have to identify them by is an ancient name which we cannot link securely with a specific vessel form.

In contrast, a variety of different artefacts (including a range of vessels which may be pottery, or perhaps more precious metal analogues: Vickers and Gill 1994, 172) are included in many of the scenes depicted on painted pottery. This is therefore a better source of information for building up a network of associations between objects, the activities for which they were used and the identities of their users. As stressed in Chapter 1, there are many problems involved in using these scenes as evidence of ancient patterns of behaviour and they cannot be seen as direct reflections of ancient life, but they must bear some relation to the experience of ancient

Vessel Name	**modern:**								
	cup	*kylix*	*skyphos*	*kantharos*	*aryballos*	*lekythos*	*amphora*	**juglet**	**cooking vessel**
Ancient:									
poterion	**Pithekoussa 7C** **Athens 7C** **Etruria 6C** **Rhodes 6C** **Locris5C**	**Naukratis 6C**							
kylix	**Kea 6C** **Al Mina 5–4C** **Rhodes 8C** **Ninfeo 6C** **Crimea 4C** **Olbia 4C** **Theodosia 5–4C** **Chios 7C** **Naukratis 6C x2**	**Rhodes 5C** **Ninfeo 6C** **Smyrna 7C** **Ninfeo 6C** **Olbia 5C**	**Athens 5C**						
skyphos		**Sicily 5C**							
kotyle	**Akrokorinth 7C**			**Thespiai 5C** **Thisbe 5C**					
lekythos					**Cumae 7C** **Athens 5C**	**Eboli 4C**			
olpe					**Korinth 6C**				
kados							**Kamiros 6C** **Unprovenanced 6C**	**Isthmia 5C**	
kothon									
kanastron	**Naukratis 4C**								
sipuis									**Caltanisetta 5C**

Figure 5. The names inscribed on ancient vessels compared with the modern terms used for them (information taken from Lazzarini 1973–4)

viewers in order to be comprehensible. Thus, while it is difficult or impossible for a modern viewer to grasp all the nuances of meaning in a scene, such as the relationship between the figures depicted, it does seem justifiable to look at the basic elements in which the scene is cast, such as the objects shown and the activities being undertaken. By assessing a reasonable sample of vessels it should be possible to detect any instances of irony, where the normal expectations are reversed for dramatic effect, since, in order to achieve that effect, they will rely on the norm being observed in the majority of cases. It is therefore preferable to concentrate on the scenes which are most frequent rather than on those which are exceptional (although this has not always been done in the past), since it is only by identifying and understanding the norms themselves that we may isolate and begin to understand the exceptions.

As a manageable sample through which to establish the associations between vessels, activities and individuals, I present an analysis of a sample of 600 red-figure vessels, selected at random from the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* and examined through the descriptive and photographic material available there.[6] Images are used only where a vessel is in a good enough state of preservation for both the design to be made out clearly and the shape of the vessel to be certain. The sample size is small enough to be manipulated relatively easily whilst being large enough to yield definite patterns of association amongst the more common types of representation, when analysed using cross-tabulation; nevertheless, the conclusions are intended to be indicative rather than comprehensive.

Two approaches to this material are adopted here: the first is to look at the contexts in which different types of object tend to occur within individual painted scenes; the second is to look at the images featured on individual pottery shapes, which might give information on how those vessels were themselves used. The composition of the sample of vessels is represented in Figure 6, and the results of the analysis are listed in Appendix 2.

In relation to the range of objects depicted and the contexts in which they are shown together, a number of distinct types of scenes and variants on those types emerge as recurring most often, and producing a number of recognisable types. These can be seen clearly on a plot resulting from the multi-dimensional scaling, which represents the variables analysed and their relationships with each other (see Figure 7). Different groups of objects can frequently be identified in association with particular types of scene, which I have labelled to give an idea of their general content:

1. 'Boudoir' scenes (Plate 1) show one or more women sitting or standing with a range of objects which includes some of the following: chairs, stools, footstools, mirrors, caskets, *kalathoi* (baskets), jewellery, a range of bottles including *alabastra* and *lekythoi*, *plemochoai* (high-footed vessels), and *lebetes* (bowls). Male figures are occasionally present in these scenes.
2. Libation scenes (Plate 2) depict two or more figures, often one male and one female. The male generally holds out a *phiale* (a flat, footless dish). The *phiale* is

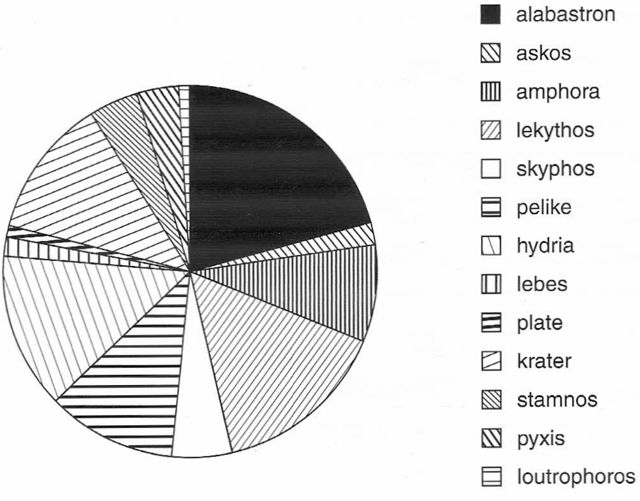


Figure 6. Pie chart showing the proportions of different types of vessel included in the iconographic analysis

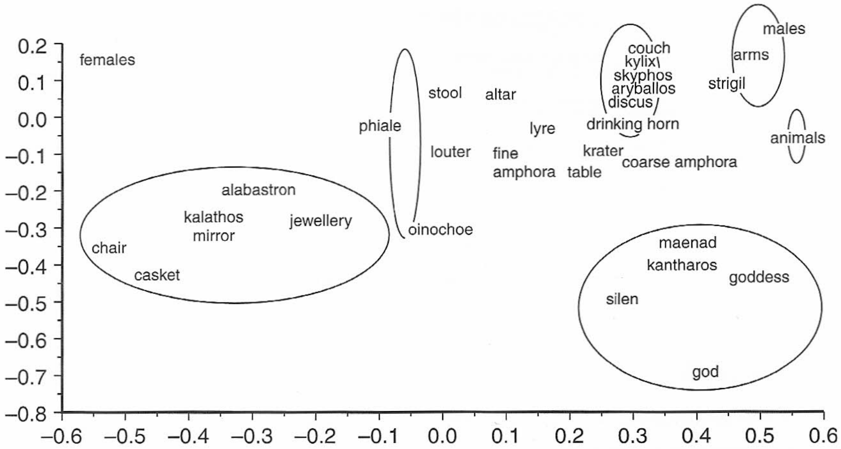


Figure 7. Multi-dimensional scaling of painted scenes showing the combinations in which decorative motifs co-occur

occasionally tilted so that the *mesomphalos* or central boss is visible. The female figure holds an *oinochoe* (a trefoil jug whose distinctive mouth is occasionally visible), from which she is often pouring into the *phiale*. In some instances cult connections are implied by the presence of an altar.

3 Symposium scenes (Plate 3) show two or more figures, often including women, who are tending to the wants of males or *satyrs*. In the background is a range of objects drawn from the following: furniture, including couches, chairs, tables; drinking cups such as *kantharoi*, *kotylai* or *kylikes*; tableware such as *oinochoai* (jugs), ladles, *kraters* (elaborate, deep, footed bowls), drinking horns; flutes;

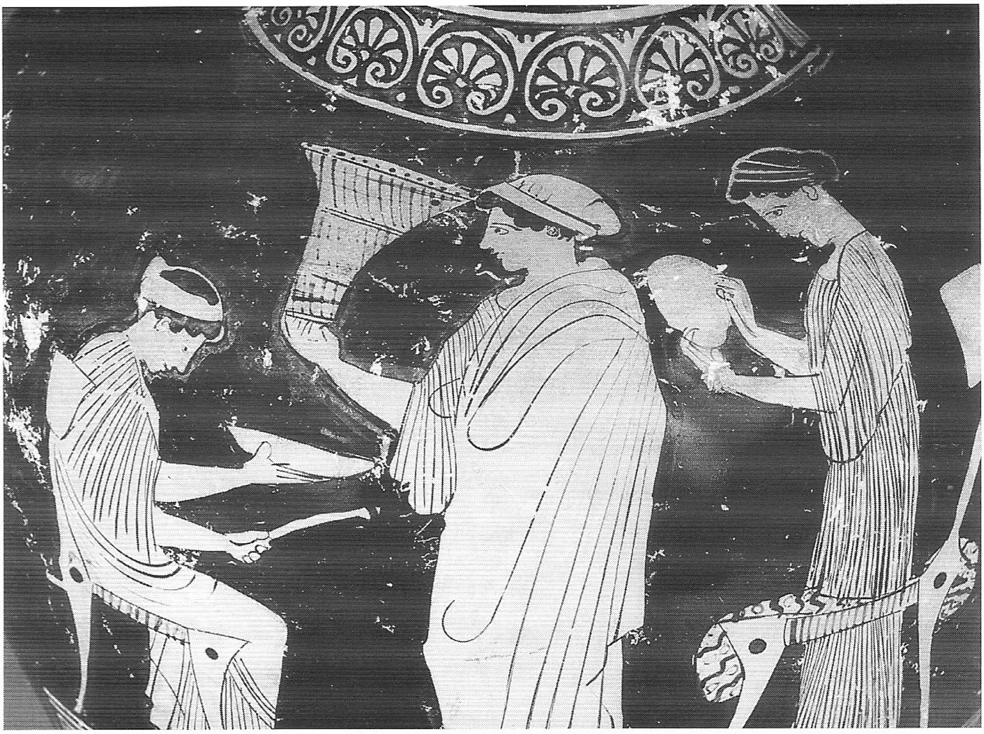


Plate 1. Red-figure *hydria* showing women using various objects and items of furniture, including chairs, a *kalathos* (held by the central figure) and a shallow dish or *phiale* (held by the left-hand figure)

thyrsoi (ritual staves) and transport *amphorae*. In a variant, *maenads* and *satyrs* are shown involved in revels with Dionysos, the god of wine.

4 Bathing scenes (Plate 4) fall into two categories: one type shows a woman or group of women, naked or clothed, washing in similar pedestalled *loutra* (basins), sometimes with a transport *amphora* nearby; a second features naked male figures holding *strigils* (skin scrapers) and/or *aryballoi* (small clay bottles) and sometimes washing, either in large, pedestalled *loutra*, or in large *kraters*.

5 Scenes involving children (Plate 5). Apart from in 'boudoir' contexts, children sometimes appear on their own, often in connection with a hoop, ball or other toy.

The sample offers a range of different objects which appear in distinct contexts, and the uses of a number of them can be inferred. The mirror, *kalathos*, chest, *alabastron*, *plemochoe*, *lekythos* and *lebes* seem to be associated with female activities. In contrast, the couch, *kylix*, *oinochoe*, *kotyle*, drinking horn and *kantharos* seem to have been associated with drinking parties, which were arguably male-dominated, if not exclusively male occasions. The *louterion*, chair, stool, table, *oinochoe* and *krater* seem to have had a wider range of potential uses, with the chair, stool and table being

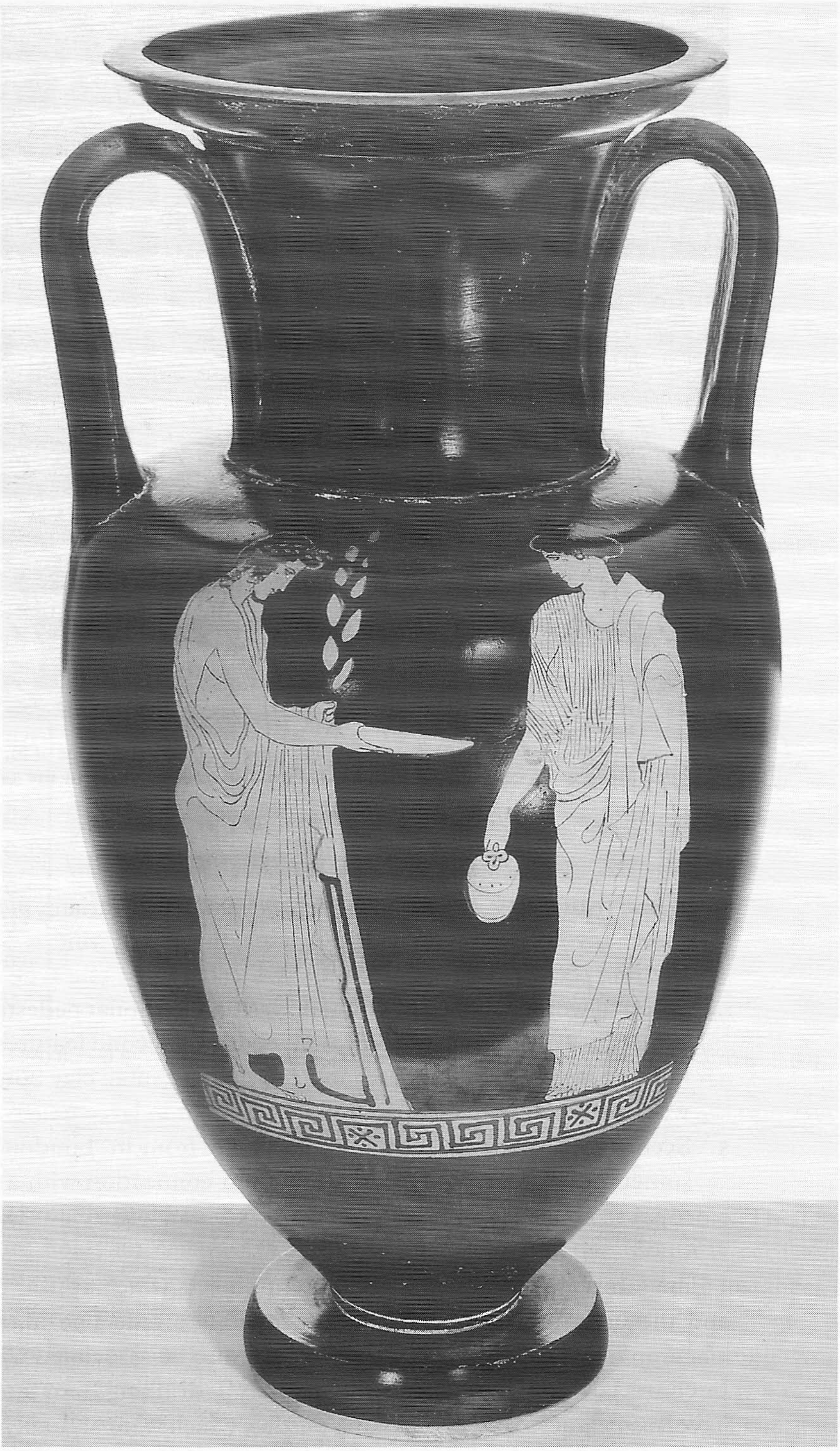


Plate 2. Red-figure *amphora* showing a woman holding a trefoil jug and a man holding a *phiale*

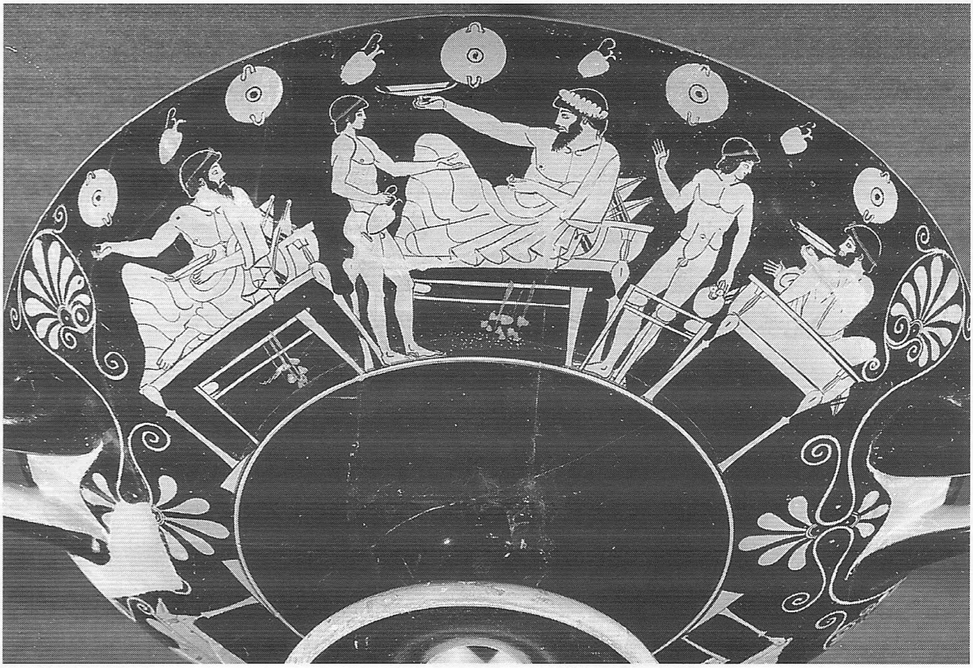


Plate 3. Red-figure *kylix* showing a drinking party or *symposium*. Among the items in use are couches with tables positioned in front, and *kylikes* (held by the reclining men) and jugs, held by the standing figures. Additional *kylikes* and jugs are shown along the rim of the vessel

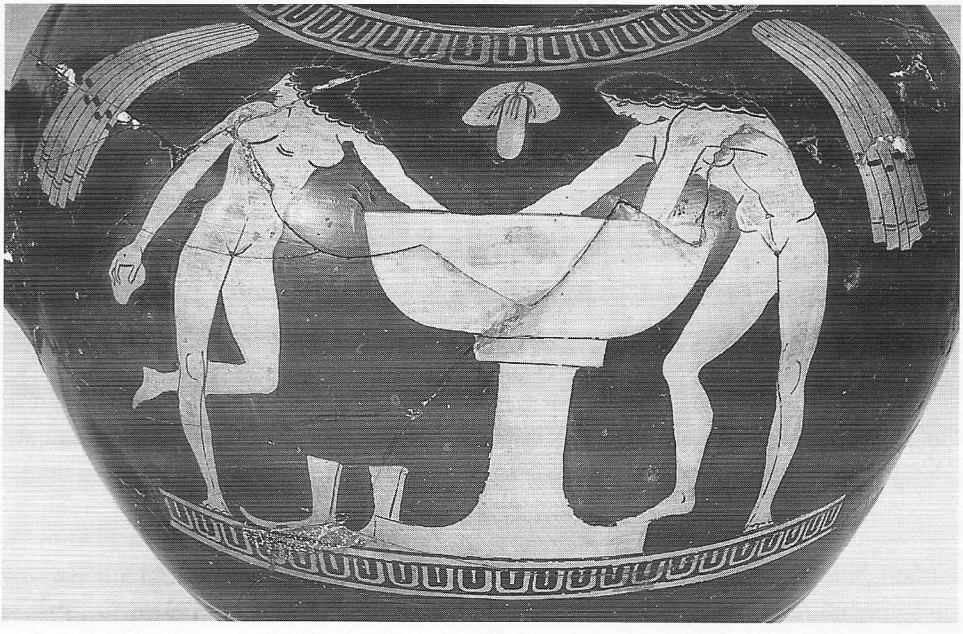


Plate 4. Red-figure *hydria* showing women washing, using a large pedestalled *loutra*

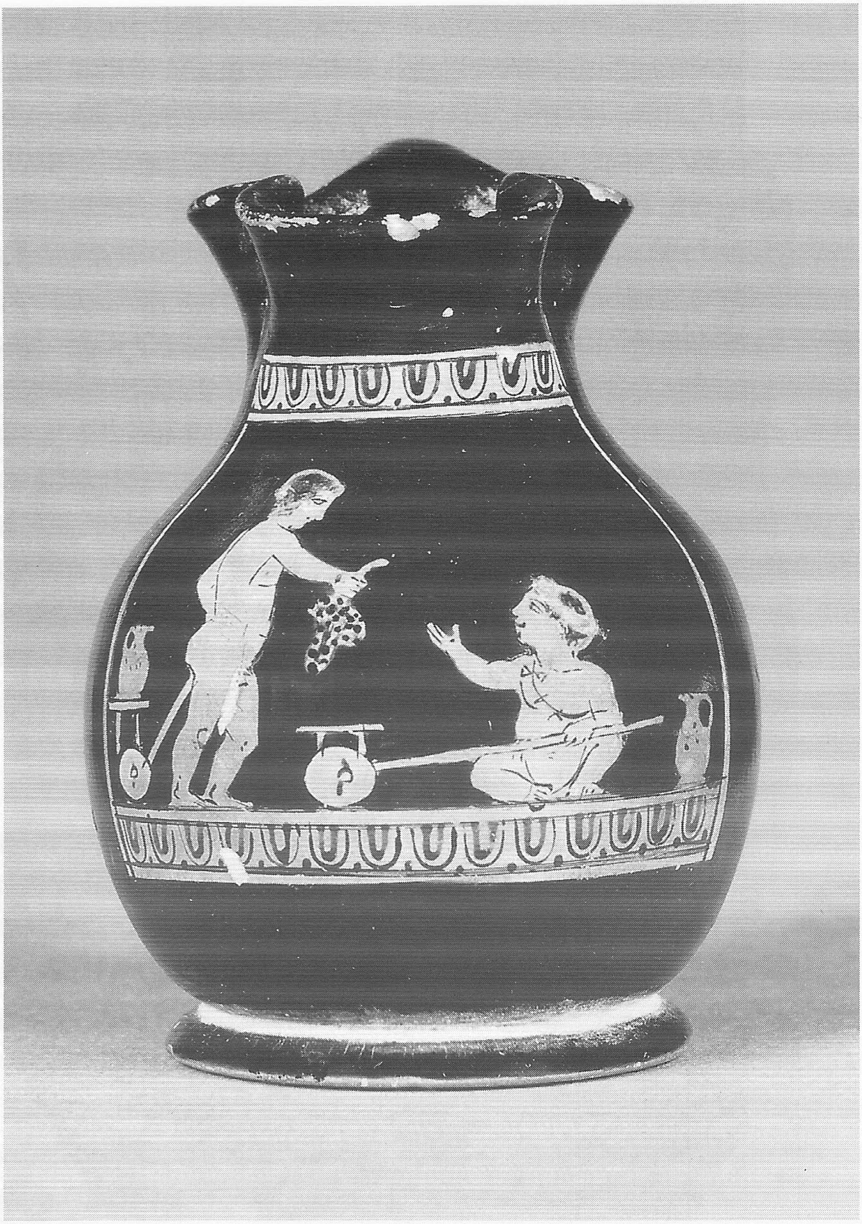


Plate 5. Small red-figure trefoil *oinochoe,* showing children playing with a toy cart

present both in the drinking scenes and in the boudoir scenes, the *oinochoe* appearing in libation scenes as well as at *symposia*, and the *krater* and *louterion* being used for more general purposes as well as for wine. Finally, the *strigil* and *aryballos* have distinct male connotations, being used only in male athletic scenes, in contrast to the *lekythos* and *alabastron* which appear in female boudoir scenes.

Although these categories are unlikely to have been totally rigid, they do provide a basis for grouping the archaeological material, and for suggesting at least some of the functions which may have been performed by some of the types of pottery found during excavation. Additional support for these categories is provided by the iconography found on individual vessel-shapes which also offers indications of the possible usage of the vessels on which it appears.

It has long been clear that the decoration of at least some Greek vessels was related to the purpose for which they were used, as, for instance, the monumental Geometric *amphorae* or white ground *lekythoi*, both of which were used at different times in association with funerary ritual and bear depictions of a funerary nature.[7] A comparison of the vessels analysed here with the illustrations which they bear supports the view that a systematic relationship exists between vessels of a particular type and the scenes they carry. The most striking examples of this linkage are the *pyxis*, and to a lesser extent other shapes already suggested as connected with female activities, including *alabastra* and *lekythoi*. These are not generally decorated with scenes in which the pot itself appears in use; nevertheless, they do show the types of scenes in which, looking at illustrations on other vessels, we might expect the shapes to appear. In other words, in the case of the *alabastra*, *lekythoi* and *pyxides*, the decoration to be expected on the vessels comprises boudoir scenes, with women sitting or standing against a background which includes one or more of the vessel shapes associated with women, and perhaps mirrors, chairs and/or stools, and caskets. The *hydria* seems to have been used by women, although it differs slightly from the female toilet vessels in that depictions of *hydriai* in use do actually appear on the vessel itself, where they are generally depicted being used by women for collecting water at a public fountain.

The other shapes examined present a less clear pattern, although the indications which emerge do tend to support the findings of the analysis of the iconography alone. First of all, the images on *krater*, *kylix* and *stamnos* suggest that these might be expected to be used at a *symposium* since they feature both *symposium* and Dionysiac scenes, with human and mythological protagonists (notably *satyrs*). Also included are other male pursuits such as battles and athletic scenes. *Amphorae*, *oinochoai* and *pelikai* feature a wider range of subjects and include female as well as male figures: *symposium* and libation scenes are shown, with women serving men with wine or acting as entertainers, and there is a range of other subjects including female-dominated domestic scenes. It is interesting to speculate on whether this broad range of subjects implies the use of some of these shapes by women as well as men, or whether the illustrations simply reflect the fact that women were felt to be suitable decoration for drinking vessels used by men. It may be that differences in the range of scenes reflects a wider usage of the *amphora*, *pelike* and *oinochoe* in the household generally, rather than in more clearly defined contexts such as the *symposium*, and this would support the evidence of the contexts in which these shapes are actually depicted.

Thus, while it would be rash to ascribe a particular usage to an individual object solely on the basis of one of these methods of analysis, when both produce similar results, it does seem possible that the use of some objects for a limited and clearly definable range of purposes is reflected in the decoration of at least some pottery shapes. These two complementary methodologies therefore provide the basis for a classification system which will have some behavioural significance, and provided this information is used with caution it enables a systematic analysis of settlement residues in terms of some of the activities of their former occupants. At the same time, some of the limitations of this approach must be recognised, even if they cannot be overcome: there is no reason to expect that painted pottery shows more than a small selection of domestic activities: the entire range of uses of any particular item will not have been depicted, so that illustrations show only a limited number of what must have been a much wider range of uses. Furthermore, of the variety of objects found in archaeological contexts, only a relatively narrow range, largely consisting of fine pottery, appears in painted scenes. Although past excavators have mainly concentrated on recovering and recording this type of vessel, coarsewares and small finds are also increasingly being considered to be important since they form such a large proportion of most domestic archaeological assemblages and offer a key to understanding how different spaces were used. Such material is not, however, extensively represented in painted scenes. In the case of these objects, it is practical considerations which offer the only key to usage, and these are discussed below.

In the context of the wide geographical area covered by the Greek world, and the fact that this investigation ranges over a period of more than two centuries, it is also necessary to bear in mind that the function of a single type of object will not necessarily have been constant. Both examples of the objects themselves which we may find in the archaeological record, and any sources we can use to investigate the way in which they were used, are always going to represent static images even though patterns of usage may have been constantly in the process of change. It must therefore be accepted that although generalisations are helpful, they are not necessarily true in every case and must be used as a guide in conjunction with other contextual information. For example, a *stamnos* or jar which was found at the site of Olynthos (analysed in Chapter 4) contained cement and was placed near piles of the type of pebble used to make pebble mosaics (Robinson 1946, 197). Presumably the jar was being used to prepare materials for redecorating the room, although this was almost certainly not the primary purpose of this type of vessel, which, it is suggested below, is likely to have been an item of household ware.

Approaching the archaeology: towards an analytical framework

The information provided by the archaeological material falls into two broad categories: firstly, the architectural features, and secondly the objects found in and around those architectural remains. Each of these types of material is associated with a different set of archaeological problems, which are discussed in Chapter 4. For now discussion focuses on how to use each one in the way which, in view of the preceding discussion, is most likely to yield meaningful results in the context of an analysis designed to explore patterning in domestic activity.

The categories used in organising the archaeological data are set out in Appendix 1. The basic unit within the data-base is the individual architectural space, which is characterised according to its architectural characteristics and the objects found within. Architectural features can potentially be examined in two ways: the majority of relevant details consist of features, such as a hearth or staircase, whose presence or absence may indicate ways in which a space was used. A second form of architectural evidence relates to the organisation of different spaces within the house and their relationship with each other. An almost infinite range of characteristics of the design could be measured. The choice of which aspects to study here is determined by a combination of factors: firstly, aspects which the written sources suggest were considered important in the Greek context, and secondly, features which ethnographic studies suggest are likely to be useful in addressing the broad questions raised in Chapter 1. These include the orientation of various spaces, the floor area they occupy, or their proximity to the street door.

In relation to the many finds, a major aim is to define groups of material which can be assumed to have had similar significance. By making the categories as comprehensive as possible, the overall number of types of artefact is reduced to a manageable level and the results of statistical analysis are more likely to be reliable since they are based on larger sample sizes. For the spatial analysis, pottery is classified into groups which partly correspond to categories emerging from the iconographic analysis. Nevertheless, there are many forms of pottery and other objects, in particular coarsewares and almost all small finds, which do not appear in painted images. For these a more pragmatic approach has to be taken and they are grouped on the basis of practical considerations connected with form. Broadly, there are two factors which can be assumed to govern the usage of any one item. These are, firstly, the material of which it is constructed, which affects the use to which it can be put (for example whether a vessel can stand high temperatures and be used for cooking, or is particularly durable so as to be able to withstand large amounts of stress); and secondly the general shape and size. A third factor also to be taken into account is the amount of decoration, which may give an indication of the extent to which the object was intended to be decorative as well as or instead of functional. These physical characteristics are used as a general guide, although they do not provide much detail, and experience also shows that there are exceptions to purely functional rules. Where objects cannot be classified with any certainty they are considered on their own, on the basis that in this way they will not obscure the patterns found in the organisation of other material.

The groupings resulting from this process are outlined in Appendix 1 and are used in the detailed analysis of the archaeological material from Olynthos (Chapter 4) and Himera (Chapter 6). The number of categories of data which may occur at any one site is relatively large, and there will therefore potentially be problems in achieving an adequate sample size to make statistical analysis effective and reliable. Nevertheless, any further combining of categories would involve linking objects with different functions and requiring differing interpretations, which render the analytical process meaningless. At Himera, where a relatively high density of pottery was recorded, analysis of the distribution of individual shapes, alongside the functional categories outlined here, supports the coherence of those categories (Appendix 4, section 1).

4

The city of Olynthos: a detailed case-study in domestic organisation

This chapter looks in detail at the houses from Olynthos, the single settlement which is the source of our most extensive and detailed information about Greek houses. The aim is to establish how the Olynthian house was organised and to explore what this tells us about social relations within and between households in the city. In the following two chapters the results are then compared with evidence from other settlements in order to assess the extent to which similar patterns of domestic organisation, and therefore also social behaviour, can be detected elsewhere.

Introduction: the site

The ancient city of Olynthos is located on the Chalkidiki peninsula in northern Greece (see Figure 8). Residential areas are spread over two flat-topped hills, referred to by the excavators as the North Hill and the South Hill, and the residential districts spill out onto the lower slopes (see Figure 9). A small area of Neolithic (fourth millennium) occupation was found on the South Hill, and after a break in settlement, the same area seems to have been reoccupied from around 1000 BC (Robinson and Graham 1938, 18). The city seems to have expanded dramatically towards the last quarter of the fifth century, probably as a result of immigration from neighbouring cities (*ibid.*, 14–15) when their populations were combined with that of Olynthos. At about this time construction of a large new area of housing was begun on the North Hill and extended onto the plain to the east (*ibid.*, 17). This new settlement area was destined to be short lived, however, and Demosthenes records the total destruction of Olynthos and the enslavement of the surviving inhabitants, by the army of Philip II in 348 BC (Demosthenes 9.26).

Archaeological work began on the site in 1928, and the final field season was in 1938. During the course of only four campaigns of excavation more than 100 houses were explored (Robinson 1946, v). Although preservation was variable, and not all the houses were fully revealed, plans were produced of more than fifty complete structures. The preliminary reports of the excavation give an idea not only of the enormous resources which were required to achieve excavation over such a wide area,[1] but also of the original aims of the director, David Robinson, when he began to explore the site. In his first report he describes the excavation of trial trenches in a number of different places 'to locate some of the public buildings or temples' (Robinson 1929, 54) but without success. Of Trenches 5 and 6 (on a southern projection of the South Hill) he notes that 'here again only houses were found' (*ibid.*, 58). In 1932 he reports that 'we intend . . . to follow this broad avenue . . . in the hope

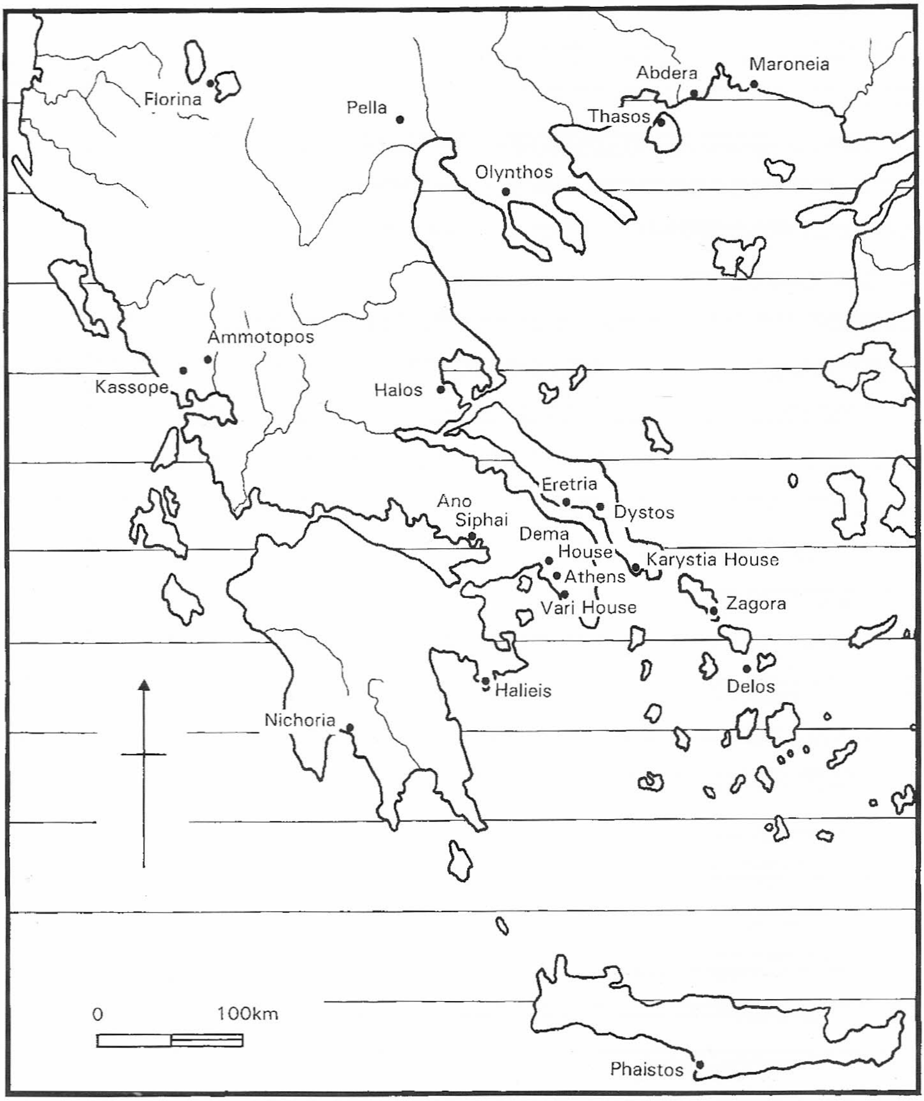

Florina
Pella
Abdera
Maroneia
Thasos
Olynthos
Ammotopos
Kassope
Halos
Eretria
Dystos
Ano Siphai
Dema House
Athens
Karystia House
Vari House
Zagora
Halieis
Delos
Nichoria
Phaistos
0
100km

Figure 8. Map showing the locations of Greek sites discussed in the text

of locating some of the public buildings' (Robinson 1932, 119), but at the same time he was beginning to realise the importance of the domestic architecture which he was finding in many different areas of the site, and he comments that 'The discovery . . . has at last enabled us to decide many of the controversial points in regard to the Greek house of the Classical period.' Robinson predicted that Olynthos would assume a 'dominating position for the study of domestic architecture in this period' (*ibid.*, 122) and a similar comment was made by Mylonas, one of Robinson's collaborators, when he wrote in 1940 of the publication of the site that 'this book . . .

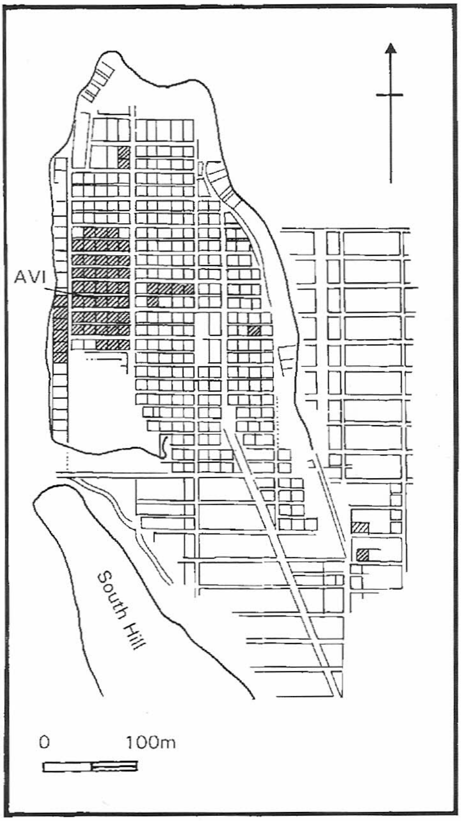


Figure 9. Plan of the city of Olynthos showing the locations of the houses in the sample

will become the main source of our evidence for the study of the Greek house' (Mylonas 1940, 392).

Of the two main areas of the city, some work was done on the South Hill, but it seems that few coherent building plans could be recovered from here so that it is not reported in much detail either in the publication (Robinson 1946, 272–316) or in the excavation notebooks. Work focused on the newer houses on the larger North Hill and on the plain to the east. With the aid of both large-scale excavation and test-trenches, it was established that this area was laid out on an orthogonal grid plan. Because no major public buildings were located it is difficult to comment on the civic life of the settlement, although a number of minor buildings including a stoa, a fountain-house and aqueduct, and a possible mint were excavated (respectively, Robinson 1946, 82–94; *ibid.*, 95–114; *ibid.*, 72–79). A large space was also found which the excavators identified as an 'open area for military manoeuvres' or, more plausibly, an *agora* (market place) (Robinson and Graham 1938, 21–22).

Most of the houses lay within a street grid which delimited equal-sized blocks, consisting of two rows of houses, each row sharing party walls (Figure 10). The two

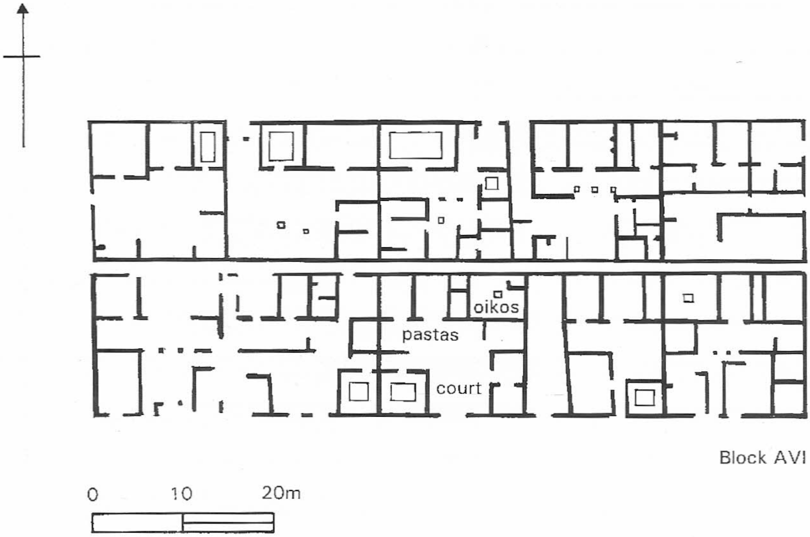


Figure 10. Plan of an *insula* at Olynthos: *insula* AVI

rows were separated by a narrow drainage alley or *stenopos*, and each provided space for five houses measuring approximately 17 by 17 square metres (or 290 square metres). Like most houses known from the period, these structures would originally have been constructed of mudbrick on a stone base or socle. In general, excavation uncovered the lines of the walls as marked by the stone footings, while in most areas the mudbrick superstructure had long since vanished. What was recovered was therefore usually limited to two-dimensional house plans, with many aspects of the superstructure remaining in doubt. Sometimes, where only the base of the stone foundation was still extant, it was difficult even to judge where the entrances to different rooms may have been, and there are areas where the archaeological strata were so near the surface that they were destroyed by erosion, or were ploughed up by farmers shortly before excavation began (Robinson 1930, xi). Nevertheless, we do know that at least some of the houses had an upper storey, since in some instances stone bases have been found which would have supported wooden staircases (Robinson and Graham 1938, 214–219 and 267–280; Graham 1954, 320–323). We can be fairly certain that the stairs gave access to an upper storey and not simply to roof space, owing to the presence of large quantities of tile, which indicate a pitched roof rather than a flat one. It is difficult, though, to judge the extent of the upper floor and to find out whether it covered all or just some of the rooms. We also do not know whether the absence of a stairbase means that there was no upper storey, or that there was a staircase but the base is lost or the stairs were constructed solely from wood. In addition to the architecture, a wide range of artefacts was also recovered, including numerous fragments of pottery, stone and metal objects, and coins.

Reanalysing Olynthos: archaeological considerations

More than fifty years after Robinson's work at Olynthos ended, the fourteen volumes of the publication (which, despite the disruption caused by World War II, had all appeared by 1952) remain our single best source of evidence for the Classical house, not only because of the number of houses excavated, but also because of the detail in which they were recorded. The publication includes both the plans of the individual houses and also information about a large number of the finds, together with a concordance indicating from which room of which house each object came. This level of detail is unmatched in the publications of some excavations even today, and the scale of the area opened up has not been repeated elsewhere, nor is it likely to be paralleled in future for financial reasons. There are, however, certain archaeological factors that influence the questions which can be asked of the material and the way in which it can be analysed. Some of these are specific to this site, while others apply more widely to the interpretation of domestic deposits in the Greek world.

The most problematic elements of the archaeological assemblage are the artefacts, which are complex to interpret. A question often overlooked during this type of analysis is what we are expecting the distribution of artefacts to represent. Although it is tempting to hope that objects will have been left where they were used – the dishes ready for a meal, the pot on the fire – there are other potential scenarios which should be considered. The first is that objects may well have been stored in a different place from where they were used, and that when they are found during excavation they may be located in storage contexts rather than in use contexts. (Compare Allison's study of the distribution of artefacts in a sample of houses from Pompeii, where concentrations of domestic items in the *atrium* seem to represent the storage of those items in large cupboards or chests which stood against the walls (Allison 1992, 43–44).) A second possibility to bear in mind is that some objects are likely to have been discarded while a house was in use, and their distribution may therefore partly result from patterns of refuse disposal, rather than from patterns of use (compare Ault and Nevett forthcoming). This is particularly relevant in cases where, as in the majority of Greek houses, many of the floors are of beaten earth, and fragments of pottery and other settlement debris may become incorporated into the floor. In the case of Olynthos, this difficulty is minimised, at least for the pottery, by the fact that the excavators seem not to have recorded every fragment, but to have concentrated their efforts on the most highly decorated or complete vessels, which are the ones most likely to have been in use at the time the city was abandoned.[2]

Another factor which needs to be taken into account is the nature of the events surrounding the destruction of the city. Any attempt to use the houses at a site in order to reconstruct the normal activities of the inhabitants relies on an assumption that its devastation and abandonment will not significantly have altered the distribution of artefacts around the domestic context, even if some were removed. From historical sources we know that Olynthos was under siege for some time before it was finally captured (Hammond and Griffith 1979, 315–325). We can only guess at what effect this state of affairs may have had: some normal activities such as farming land outside the walls, must have been curtailed. This is supported by evidence that some of the citizens anticipated disaster, burying hoards of coins and other objects beneath floors, presumably so that if the city were captured they might avoid detection and their owners might retrieve them subsequently. Such hoards are readily identifiable on archaeological grounds, and can easily be excluded from analysis, so that they do not significantly affect our picture. There is also some evidence that there was only a temporary halt to normal activities at or before the time of the destruction. For example in house F-ii 9 (the 'house of many colours') redecoration seems to have been under way, and building materials are left ready as though the decorators intended to return (Robinson 1946, 197). The probability is therefore that households were not using space in a substantially different manner from their customary practice in peace-time. This can be tested by looking at whether the finds (which can be moved easily) and the architecture (which cannot) both point to similar patterns of behaviour.

In addition, there are a number of other post-depositional factors which may have caused disruption of the material: following the destruction and widespread abandonment of the city there is a possibility that limited reoccupation or even just scavenging may also have changed the way in which objects were distributed in at least some areas. It is difficult to assess the potential scale of this problem. The historical sources claim that the city was destroyed so thoroughly that a passer-by would not have known that a city had once been there (Demosthenes 9.26), and that the inhabitants were sold as slaves (Diodorus Siculus 16.53.3; Strabo 10.447). Nevertheless, the source of this information, and the extent to which these authors may have been exaggerating for dramatic effect, are unknown, and there are a number of later references in the literary and epigraphic records to citizens of Olynthos. Diodorus Siculus, for instance, mentions Olynthians as being amongst the founding population of the nearby city of Kassandreia in 316 BC, some thirty years after Olynthos was destroyed (Diodorus Siculus 19.52.2 and 19.61.2). Our main tool for dating occupation at Olynthos is pottery, but differences between vessels introduced to the site immediately before and immediately after the destruction would not be visible with our current ceramic chronologies. Indeed, at least some of the pottery chronology for this period has been developed by looking at the range of material from Olynthos and dating it at or before the known destruction date of 348 BC (for example, Rotroff 1990). Coins sometimes give more precise chronological indications, and a concentration of late coins in the north west area of the site suggests that there may have been limited reoccupation in this area (Robinson and Graham 1938, vii, 9–10; Rose 1990; Dengate 1990). There is, however, no evidence that the rest of the site was affected in the same way. (The issue of occupation of the site after 348 BC is discussed in depth by Cahill (1991, 165–195), who reaches a similar conclusion.)

Following the total abandonment of the city, there are natural processes which could also have damaged or disrupted the archaeological material, and which therefore have to be considered before the material is analysed and interpreted. The hilltop location of the city makes it somewhat vulnerable to erosion, especially since there is only a thin layer of soil covering the archaeological layers on many parts of the site (Robinson and Graham 1938, viii). It is also clear from the plans that parts of some of the houses built along the city wall have been lost from the western edge of the North Hill, through downslope erosion. Nevertheless, although these processes will have destroyed information, they are unlikely to have altered the archaeological record in such a way as to give a misleading impression of the organisation of individual houses.

A more serious problem is posed by some of the decisions taken and some of the techniques employed during the excavation itself. Once Robinson had turned his attention from the search for public buildings and had decided to concentrate on the domestic architecture, he seems to have aimed to recover the plans of as many houses as possible and to set them within the context of the organisation of the site as a whole. In its own terms the project was very successful: Robinson was able to establish the basic grid plan of the city, and revealed enough houses to give him a generalised picture of the domestic architecture. Nevertheless, attempting to use the data for purposes which were not envisaged during the original excavation leads to problems. The publication is virtually unique in including large numbers of finds and relating them to the architectural spaces from which they were recovered. There are, however, some underlying problems. The 'House of Zoilos' (house Dv6) is held up as an example of the way in which the distribution of artefacts was recorded, with clusters of objects located in specific places within individual rooms (Robinson 1946, 161 note 3). In fact, in the best-recorded houses the positions of objects are located in the field-notes by square on a one metre grid. This enabled the spatial position of objects from the surface to be plotted before any levels were reached containing architecture. The disadvantage, however, is that walls bisected some of the squares and it is sometimes unclear from the records on which side of a wall an object was found, so that it cannot easily be assigned to a specific room. There are therefore some objects which have to be excluded from any spatial analysis because it is unclear with which architectural space they are associated. It is also the case that during the 1938 campaign the sheer volume of artefacts coming to light meant that the locations of all could not be recorded exactly (Robinson 1941, v–vi). Since, therefore, not all the houses were recorded at the same level of detail, the present discussion is confined to the locations of objects by room, and does not attempt to pinpoint spatially distinct activity areas within a single architectural space.

Another area of ambiguity arises over the vertical position of objects within the fill. The fact that the main, North Hill area of the city was occupied for a comparatively short time should make interpretation relatively straightforward. Robinson seems to have thought of Olynthos as a 'single-period' site since there are no section drawings either in the publication or in the surviving field-books. Under these circumstances it is hard to distinguish between artefacts which were *in situ* on house floors at the time the city was destroyed, which are relevant to the study of activity during the final phase of occupation, and those which were deposited at some other stage before or after the destruction. An indication of the confusion this may potentially cause is that although in relative terms the period of occupation was quite short, changes clearly took place in many houses in the way space was used. In some instances even the area of ground occupied by a house has altered, so that one property gave up part of its original plot to a neighbour (for instance houses Av6 and Av8 (Robinson and Graham 1938, 92–96)). Such developments make it quite likely that objects have accumulated in one place which relate to a variety of different functions performed by the same space during successive stages of occupation. Recent re-excavation of a house in which some of the deposits were not totally excavated by Robinson (house Bvii 1) has demonstrated that in that particular house there were indeed two distinct episodes of activity which are indistinguishable in terms of ceramic styles (Drougou and Vokotopoulou 1989). Stratigraphic information therefore remains our only hope of tracing changes of use. The lack of this kind of detail from Robinson's excavation prevents such phases from being distinguished and also makes it hard to identify areas in which the deposits may have been disturbed after the destruction, for example by looting, which may have mixed different deposits. In short, stratification can only be considered on the basis of existing records by using notes of the depths below the surface at which objects were found and designations such as 'on floor', both of which occur sporadically in the field-books. Although these may help to filter out some of the statistical 'noise' caused by stray objects which were not part of the final phase of use of a particular space, they will not allow changes in the use of space to be documented in any detail, nor will they enable collapsed upper storey rooms to be identified and their contents to be studied. Thus the questions which can be asked of this material are by necessity limited to a consideration of the use of ground-floor rooms, and some allowances also need to be made in interpreting the statistical patterns for the occurrence of stray objects which do not form part of the assemblage of individual rooms immediately prior to the destruction of the city.

Consideration also needs to be given to other aspects of the excavation. It is clear from the preliminary reports that as work progressed Robinson's aims and expectations changed. As his chances of finding any large-scale public architecture diminished, he realised the value of excavating and recording large numbers of private houses. Probably for this reason, the standards applied to the excavation of houses in different years were not comparable. Although there are no explicit statements of the aims and techniques of the excavation and of how these may have developed, either in the publication or in the field-books, it is apparent that from the second season onwards, more care was taken in recording, particularly with reference to the finds. A complicating factor here is that there was a lot of discontinuity in the personnel who were involved in supervising the excavation of different sectors. Again, it is possible that differences in the techniques they used may have given rise to variability in the information they extracted and/or recorded. Some of these problems are minimised here by excluding the material excavated in 1928, when the houses seem to have been of less interest to the excavators and fewer details were recorded, and when, in any case, less useful material was recovered.

In short, while Olynthos is unparalleled as a source of archaeological information about Classical Greek houses, in reanalysing the data in order to shed light on new questions, the analytical methodology must be sensitive to three factors: first, the circumstances under which the objects were deposited; second, post-depositional factors which may have affected the position of artefacts within the soil; and third, the way in which the aims of the original excavations influenced the collection and recording of information.

Investigating the organisation of individual houses

The large numbers of houses which have been excavated at Olynthos provide a viable sample with which to undertake statistical analysis and this is the approach taken here. The aim is to reveal the extent and nature of patterning in the way different aspects of domestic activity were organised. By addressing this issue it is possible to begin to investigate the nature of social relations within and between households, and to ask to what extent a single pattern of domestic organisation is relevant to all the households represented.

In undertaking this kind of analysis, a preliminary consideration is the nature of the sample which the excavated houses provide. The structures analysed here include all those for which a complete ground plan survived (although not all of the rooms were completely cleared of their fill), and for which details of architecture and finds are recorded both in the publication and in the surviving field books. The sample of fifty-two houses selected in this way is shown in Figure 9. This group comprises a number of complete housing blocks, together with examples from a single terrace of houses running along the western fortification wall, and one of the 'villas' from the eastern extension of the city. Spatially, the bulk of the sample comes from the western part of the site, although the eastern area is also represented by a few individual scattered structures. A notable weakness is the coverage of the South Hill, where occupation began much earlier than on the North Hill (Robinson and Graham 1938, 18). The notebooks suggest that the structures revealed by test-trenches in the area were substantially different from those found elsewhere, and this is borne out by the information provided by the publication (Robinson 1930, 1–34; Robinson 1946, 272–317). Nevertheless, the characteristics which make these buildings different from those on the North Hill – namely the irregularity of construction and organisation – make it difficult to define the limits of individual domestic units, and therefore to interpret them. Unfortunately, these problems mean that the area cannot be included in the present analysis and this excludes the possibility of looking in detail at the nature of, and reasons for, the differences in spatial organisation between housing on the North and South Hills.

Analytical methodology

The immediate goals of the statistical analysis are, firstly, to identify the main features which are characteristic of the majority of Olynthian houses and, secondly, to isolate recurring assemblages of artefacts and/or architectural features in use at the time of the destruction of the city, which give an indication of how space was used. By looking at the interplay between features and assemblages and by linking them with the individuals who used them, through the patterns of association established in Chapter 2, it is possible to build up a picture of the organisation of activities within the household. For the purposes of the analysis, artefacts and architectural features are organised into the categories established there and are analysed on a room-by-room basis. Aspects of the spatial syntax of individual rooms, suggested in Chapter 2 as being potentially important in the ancient Greek context, are also included. The basis for the functional identifications of different rooms assigned by Robinson and Graham is also explored.

A relatively simple statistical test, cross-tabulation (for further details see Shennan 1988, 65–76), is used to establish instances of associations between pairs of architectural and/or artefactual variables, and to assess whether such associations are likely to be non-random. By putting together a series of associated pairs, it is possible to find recurring assemblages of artefacts and architectural features which make up functional groups. Elsewhere, more sophisticated analytical processes have been used to examine settlement data in a variety of archaeological contexts (for example Whallon 1973; Christenson and Read 1977; Bolviken *et al.* 1982; Cannon 1983; Kintigh 1984; and in Greek and Roman worlds Cahill 1991; Allison 1992). Nevertheless, a relatively simple method is preferred here because of the complexity of the data-base, the relatively small sample sizes involved, and the interpretational difficulties already discussed (compare Thomas 1978).

The program used for the analysis is SPSS. The degree of relationship between each pair of variables is represented by the phi square value between 0 and 1 (strong relationships have a higher value). The chances of any relationship being a random one are expressed as a significance test based on a chi square value between 0 and 1 (the smaller the likelihood that a relationship is random, the smaller the significance value). This form of analysis is rendered invalid if the cross-tabulation table contains too many empty cells, and for this reason, despite reservations which have been expressed in the past about this approach (Ciolek-Torrello 1984), presence/absence data are used for all the statistical analyses discussed here unless otherwise indicated. Examination of the cross-tabulation table itself allows positive and negative associations to be distinguished. It also allows the importance of the relationships discovered to be assessed in the light of the sample sizes involved. Cross-tabulation is used in association with simpler measures, such as the percentage of houses showing a particular characteristic, which enables comparisons to be made between house-units as a whole, and the results of all the methods of analysis are considered within the general architectural context of the houses themselves.

In an effort to eliminate some of the worst effects of the mixing of deposits, and in the absence of detailed stratigraphic information, the finds used in the analysis are those which are designated in the field-notes as having come from floor deposits. Analysis of the cases where this information is available suggests that such deposits usually represent the most dense concentration of artefacts, and where no information on the depth of the floor is available, but depths beneath surface soil are recorded, a concentration of material at a particular depth is taken to indicate a floor level. (The exceptions to this are the hoards, which are identified as such in the notebooks and which are readily distinguishable as single deposits in one location, in contrast to the majority of the objects which are described as occurring separately across a wider area.) Although this strategy is not ideal (it assumes, for example, that each house is flat and was covered evenly with fill, which is not strictly the case) it represents the best compromise between two alternatives. Looking only at the finds which come from designated floor levels, which therefore represent the most reliable information, would exclude much of the available information and leave sample sizes which are so small that they are difficult or impossible to use in statistical tests. On the other hand, incorporating all the finds, regardless of their stratigraphic position, would give the maximum possible sample size with which to work, but would confuse the patterning of objects which were *in situ* by including mixed debris from other areas. When these different options are compared, the estimated floor levels, despite their imperfections, produce the strongest statistical relationships, and are therefore used for the analyses described here unless otherwise stated.

In running the analysis, the characteristics of both architectural and artefactual data must be respected. In the case of architectural features it is sometimes possible, when preservation is good, to determine with some degree of certainty whether or not a particular room possessed a certain feature. In the case of small finds, however, the situation is more complicated. The excavators make no claim to having recovered and recorded all the objects they could find during excavation (Robinson 1941, vi). The problem was compounded where a room was not dug in totality once the lines of the walls had been determined, and the recent investigation of some of these unexcavated deposits (Drougou and Vokotopoulou 1989) shows that there must have been many finds which went unlocated during the course of those excavations. It is therefore important to remember that in the case of artefacts, blanks in the data-base do not necessarily represent the absence of specific objects in a particular room, but simply the fact that none was recovered. We are always dealing with a data-base which is potentially incomplete, and although nothing can be done to rectify this, it becomes important when interpreting the results of the analysis. For this reason, and because of the size and complexity of the data-base, it is difficult to detect nuances such as changes in the relative proportions of different types of material. At the same time, because sample sizes for each type of object are so small, the addition of a single extra item could radically alter any calculations of ratios of one type to another. This is an additional reason for using presence/absence data in the cross-tabulation analysis, rather than attempting a more complex, quantitative approach.

Identifying complexes of artefacts and architecture

Overall, the results of the analysis show only weak associations between different components of the archaeological assemblage, although the significance values, which are generally very low, indicate that these associations are unlikely to be due to chance factors alone. Various analytical considerations are likely to have played a role here, including the use of presence/absence data, and the variable quality of the material (the partial excavation of some rooms, the necessity of estimating floor levels because of the lack of stratigraphic information, and the fact that much material could not be used, either because it was not recorded or because there is no information on its stratigraphic position). Nevertheless, the figures do suggest a relatively large degree of variability within the assemblage as a whole, and therefore that there was only limited standardisation between houses. (This finding is in agreement with Cahill's analysis of the material from the site, which used cluster techniques: Cahill 1991.) This means that no generalised statement about domestic organisation will be valid for every house in the sample, so that despite the appearance of regularity given by the orthogonal city plan, a comprehensive normative picture cannot be established. Such a conclusion throws into doubt the applicability of Hoepfner and Schwandner's picture of the type-house, which describes a standardised set of spaces, their positions governed by regular and predictable rules (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 82–113). There are, however, a number of emerging patterns which allow generalised trends in spatial organisation to be identified and a model for spatial organisation and social behaviour to be established, which provides a basis for discussion and for assessing variability. The values given by the analysis are listed in Appendix 3, down to a lower limit of a phi square value of 0.2, below which the degree of association is extremely low and the numbers of elements involved numerous, suggesting relatively insignificant associations. What follows is a summary of the main patterns revealed by the cross-tabulation and other analyses. Interpretation of those patterns is reserved for the next section.

As is to be expected, given the archaeological considerations affecting the distribution of the finds (discussed above), the patterning is most robust in relation to the architectural variables, which are the least affected by problems of preservation and recovery. An assessment of Robinson and Graham's terminology against architectural and artefactual variables yields a large number of empty cells in the cross-tabulation table so that statistics cannot be used, although visual inspection of the tables reveals strong tendencies which can be explored. The strongest single source of consistent statistical patterning is orientation in relation to the fixed compass points. Trends also emerge in relation to other aspects of the spatial syntax, the most important being, firstly, the number of areas intervening between a particular space and the street door, and, secondly, the number of entrances/exits that a space possesses (the openness and access values, defined in Appendix 1). A range of associations links these with other architectural and artefactual variables.

Despite the presence of the narrow drainage alley or *stenopos* behind most rows of housing, the vast majority (80 per cent of those where the lines of the rear walls are preserved) had no back entrances. The front entrance comprises a pedestrian door and sometimes also a double door for wheeled traffic, both of which give into the same space. These doorways are normally located either on the north or the south side of the house. A histogram of the range of house areas (Figure 11) shows that the interior space falls into three basic size categories. Nevertheless, the range of room sizes remains closely comparable and they are analysed together. The distribution of finds reveals patterning in relation to some of these general architectural characteristics: in the larger spaces artefacts are found in greater numbers than in the smaller ones (in a ratio of approximately 3:2:1) and there tends to be a greater variety of objects in those larger spaces. The larger areas also have a tendency towards low access values (showing that they were usually close to the street door) and high

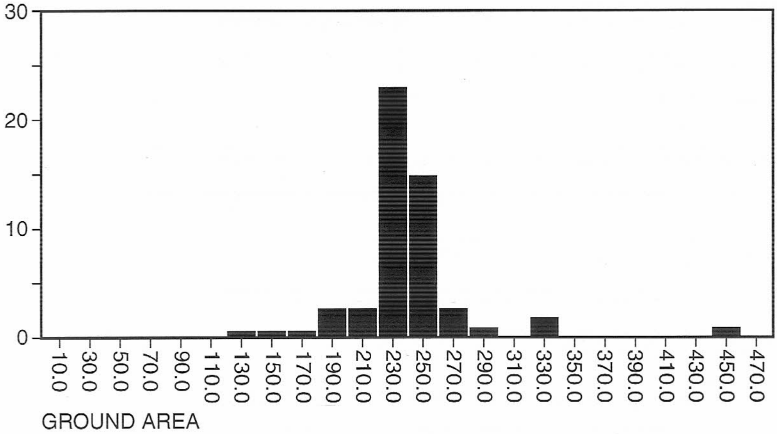


Figure 11. Histogram showing the range of ground-floor areas covered by different houses at Olynthos (square metres)

openness values (indicating that they normally gave onto a number of other spaces). Such large spaces tend to be associated with a central or southern location, and with various measures to cope with rainwater, which include a cobbled or plastered floor and terracotta drainpipes. They are also likely to have column bases. All these features are characteristics of a relatively large unroofed area, located to the centre or south of the house, close to the street entrance and giving access to the majority of the rooms. These characteristics are associated with the areas designated as courts in Robinson and Graham's original publication.

Similar high openness and low accessibility values are associated with a smaller area lying further into the house, often to the north of the court, and, again, are linked with column bases. These characteristics are associated with the space Robinson and Graham identify as the *pastas*, a colonnade bordering the court, usually on its north side, but sometimes extending around one or more of the other sides. Both court and *pastas* are also associated with stone altars and stairbases and are decorated with coloured plaster walls, metal fittings and terracottas. In addition they have a tendency to contain a broad range of finds, including coins, storage and household pottery, lamps, table vessels, and a range of metal objects comprising fastenings, weapons, structural metal finds and locks. Both areas have also yielded jewellery, weaving equipment and female-associated toilet vessels.

To the north of the *pastas* is generally found a range of medium-sized rooms which are frequently unpaved and lacking in drainage facilities. Each of these has only one, or at most two entrances, and they are quite distant from the street door in terms of the number of intervening spaces. The room which the excavators identify as an *andron* frequently lies amongst these rooms in a north-westerly position, and differs from them in that it is associated with a plaster or mosaic floor and coloured plaster walls, and did have a drain. A closer examination of rooms with these features reveals that they also have an off-centre doorway, which would have been required to

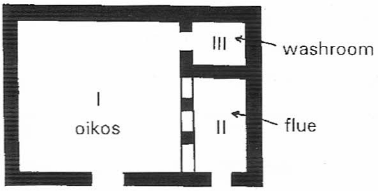


Figure 12. Plan of Mylonas' '*oikos*-unit'

accommodate couches without wasting wall-space, and a plain or raised border around the edge of the room, which further supports the idea that couches did indeed stand along the walls. All of these features point to the use of the room for entertaining visitors, supporting Robinson and Graham's identification, although it is important to remember that this may not have been the only function of the room. Further characteristics of the *andron* are low accessibility and high openness values, indicating that it was situated deep within the house and that access was limited. Another room with similar decoration, but falling into the smallest size category, is Robinson and Graham's anteroom which, as individual house-plans show, lies between the *andron* and the court. The presence of this room explains the low accessibility value of the *andron* as it adds an extra space between court and *andron* in contrast to most other spaces, which are reached directly from the court. Perhaps because of the plaster or mosaic floors in these areas, which would have made them easy to clean out, few objects were found inside to contribute to the picture of how they were used, and symposium pottery is noticeably absent.

To the east or north-east of the court, rooms of all sizes are associated with a rubble screen. The smaller ones are sometimes characterised by a combination of architectural features, including plaster on the floor and walls, a fact which has been interpreted as providing protection for the structure of the house from the damp. These characteristics are correlated with the excavators' identification of a bathroom and indeed fragments of terracotta hip-baths or spaces in the cement where tubs were positioned are found here. Mylonas characterised the bathroom as belonging to a characteristic three-room block which he called the '*oikos* unit'[3] (see Figure 12). This consists of a large living room or *oikos*, and a small bathroom and flue, separated off at one end by a rubble partition which may have been open at the top to allow heat and smoke to pass through. The space he labels the flue is associated with a relatively broad range of artefacts, including household and table pottery, together with loomweights and terracotta figurines; this range suggests that the area may have been used to dump domestic refuse. Few finds come from the so-called *oikos* itself, although there was sometimes a large central hearth which must have provided light and heat during the winter, its smoke passing out into the flue.

Although most of the houses have only a single entrance, there are a significant number where a street entrance leads directly into a room of medium size. Such rooms are frequently associated with a very low openness value of 1, indicating that there is no other door and that the space must be separate from the house. These areas are associated with the spaces identified by Robinson and Graham as stables, shops or workshops. Few finds were made in either the stable or the workshop category, so that their identification must have been made on impressionistic grounds and is impossible to confirm. Finds are more numerous in the shop category, and consist of a range of table and household pottery, loomweights, coins, lamps, figurines, metal fittings and miscellaneous metal objects. Conclusive evidence for the commercial function of these areas is difficult to find, and Robinson and Graham's identification may well have been made on analogy with structures of a later date from Roman towns like Pompeii and Herculaneum, where shops were sometimes built into the facades of houses and lacked any connection with the house proper (see, for example, Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 118–131).

The associations just discussed relate to different architectural variables, or to combinations of architecture and finds. There are also some associations between various categories of objects. These are not necessarily linked with a particular position in the house or with specific architectural features, but do nonetheless offer an insight into functional assemblages, and in fact correspond with some of the complexes of objects identified in Chapter 3. In one instance, Robinson and Graham's categorisation seems to rely purely on finds, rather than architecture, and that is their identification of the store-room, which is associated with storage vessels, but which seems to vary in size, position in the house, and architectural features. With respect to association between particular groups of finds, jewellery is correlated with loomweights, personal tools and metal fittings, and there is a slightly lower degree of association of jewellery and loomweights with female toilet-ware. Taken together, this group may represent part of a collection of objects likely to have been linked with female activities (see above pp. 43–45). Other types of pottery occur in association with each other: household and storage wares are relatively closely correlated, suggesting the use and/or storage of these vessels together. Household and storage wares are also associated with female toilet-wares and with jewellery, perhaps suggesting similar storage and/or use patterns, including their use by women (although that does not, of course, preclude their use by men as well).

Terracotta figurines also appear with female toilet-vessels as well as with household- and tablewares. As Cahill observes, a cache of figurines was found in the *andron* of the house of the comedian (not included in the present analysis), an indication that they were used decoratively (Cahill 1991, 345). The fact that they are not particularly associated with any specific rooms may indicate that they were used more widely than other decorative devices, such as painted plaster. The correlation of such figurines with female toilet vessels and other pottery types is difficult to interpret. It is possible that all of these objects were simply stored in the same place. A further association amongst the ceramic material is between tableware and lamps, which may, like the relationship between household and storage wares, reflect patterns of use and/or storage. Although not much bone was recovered from the site, what deposits there were are strongly correlated with ash, which is suggestive of residues from cooking, and an association between bath fragments and bone is likely to reflect the proximity of cooking and bathing, possibly involving the use of the same fire both for cooking and for heating bathwater.

An association between weapons and outdoor tools, like those between various pottery types, may indicate patterns of usage and storage, and perhaps also some degree of ambiguity as to the category to which an individual object should belong. It is possible to confuse, for example, different kinds of iron blades, where the metal is so corroded that swords cannot be distinguished from kitchen implements (Robinson 1941, 335). A similar kind of ambiguity is likely to underlie the relationship between jewellery and miscellaneous metalwork, which suggests that some of the objects, classed here as miscellaneous because they cannot be identified, may once have been items of jewellery.

In sum, although the picture offered by the archaeological material is somewhat fragmentary, by looking at pairs of associated variables it is possible to begin to build up a coherent picture of some of the most common characteristics of many of the Olynthian houses. In addition, the correspondence of particular architectural and artefactual variables with some of the groups of rooms identified by the excavators suggests that their categories are coherent in that they are based on specific aspects of the finds or, most commonly, the architecture. There is, however, one of Robinson and Graham's categories which clearly does not have such a coherent basis, and that is their group of living/sleeping rooms, which includes examples of almost all the architectural and artefactual variables, and is therefore likely to consist of a mixture of rooms with different functions. The large number of rooms which Robinson and Graham did not assign to any functional category also encompasses a wide variety of different characteristics, suggesting that they were used for a range of purposes.

Interpreting these patterns in terms of social relations: a 'gendered' house?

The layout of the Olynthian houses was influenced by a combination of social and practical considerations. Environmental factors, practical requirements and social pressures are all likely to have contributed to a standardisation of the layout of the house, while the needs and preferences of individual households will have caused deviations from the general pattern. In its final form, each house therefore represents a tension between these different constraints. The relatively large sample of excavated houses allows these factors to be isolated to a certain degree, although the low phi square values suggest that the influence of individual choice on house design was quite strong.

A variety of recurring patterns throws some light on aspects of the cultural constraints which influenced the organisation of these houses. The range of different types of objects in many of the individual rooms supports the suggestion that they were indeed multi-functional, either in the sense that different activities were performed there simultaneously, or in the sense that a range of tasks took place there at different times of day or in different seasons of the year. (These are alternatives which are impossible to distinguish archaeologically on the basis of the available data.) It is therefore likely to be misleading to assign a single function to any particular area. For example, in addition to providing space for household activity, the court may have served as an entrance lobby, with the street door(s) giving directly onto it. It may also have been used for storage, since *pithoi* are sometimes found there.[4] Similarly, the flue may also have served for washing in cases where there was no separate bathroom, and the water would probably have been heated by the cooking fire.

The house itself therefore forms a changeable and changing environment whose constituents are difficult to categorise in the way that can theoretically be done in the context of a modern western house. This helps to explain the limited success Robinson and Graham had in assigning rooms to specific functions, since they failed to take fully into account the fact that the use of domestic space in ancient Greek society may have been different from their own, and to consider the possibility of flexible patterns of spatial behaviour of the sort suggested by the literary evidence (outlined above, Chapter 3). It also suggests that the way in which activities were organised is likely to have changed according to factors such as the time of day and the time of year.

One of the most noticeable features is the degree of control, both over movement within the house itself, and over contact between the house and the outside world. Inside, a key feature of the layout is the open court which dominates access to the individual rooms, since they radiate from here and the neighbouring portico or *pastas*, rather than communicating directly. Attention is drawn to the court by its size (it almost invariably falls into the category of the largest rooms) and coloured plaster wall-decoration, which is often present here even though most of the other rooms are more frequently left plain.

The *pastas*, which gave access to the main rooms to the north of the court, is decorated in a similar way, and the two areas are separated only by a row of columns, which supported the *pastas* roof. In fact it seems that court and *pastas* made up a single conceptual space, not only because of the degree of communication between them and the similar decoration, but also because the range of finds and features in each was almost identical, suggesting that they were used for the same activities. Cisterns located in these areas would have provided water for household chores. Altars found in both locations suggest that domestic cult took place here. The presence of storage vessels suggests that produce would sometimes be kept in either of these areas, and in addition, the presence of householdware, tableware, female toilet vessels and loomweights suggests that such items were used and/or stored in the court or *pastas*. As the city was probably destroyed in late September (Hammond and Griffith 1979, 324 note 2), this may represent a pattern geared to the warm summer weather. At this time the inside of the house would have been dark and airless and the optimum place in which to carry out chores may have been outside in the *pastas*, which would have provided a better ventilated but shaded location for weaving, cooking and other tasks. In winter the normal pattern may have been different: it can snow in the region in winter, and the more oblique winter sun would have shone across the court and penetrated into the main northern rooms, where work could have been carried out there with the benefit afforded by the warmth and illumination.

In addition to its role in connecting these different areas, the court also mediates between the house and the outside world. Access to the house is normally through a single street entrance which led into the court. As the accessibility value shows, there is often a small intervening space which would have prevented the court from being viewed from the street, even when the door was open. In practical terms it would often have been possible for a second access point onto the street to be constructed either directly from the front, or via the *stenopos* (the rear alley) in an arrangement which would have been comparable to the back door of a British Victorian terraced house. Nevertheless, this seems not to have been done on a regular basis, and any visitor to the house would therefore have had to pass through the court in order to reach the domestic apartments. In other societies the provision of a second entrance enables various activities and/or social groups to be separated. For example, in some forms of Islamic house mentioned above (Chapter 2), the visitors' quarters are sometimes provided with their own street entrance. This means that guests are not brought into contact with the family, and a further separate entry giving access to the service court allows goods to be brought in and out of the household without the necessity of passing through the area near the main entrance, where the master entertained. At Olynthos, the provision of special street entrances for the so-called 'shop' and 'workshop' spaces, and the frequent lack of connection between these and the main part of the house, do suggest that there was some desire to separate the household from the activities which took place in those spaces, even if our information is insufficient for those activities to be defined fully. Nevertheless, separate entrances for household members and for guest or service quarters seem generally not to have been provided, suggesting that it was not felt to be necessary to keep visitors away from domestic activities and from the main part of the house. In fact the way in which the *andron*, the area where we can be fairly sure that entertaining took place, is integrated with the other rooms suggests that quite the reverse is true.

The accessibility measure suggests that the *andron* tends to be reached via the court, and this is confirmed by observation of individual house plans. The plans also show that it would often have been possible to place the door of the *andron* (or anteroom) so that it led directly from the street entrance and avoided the court. The fact that this was not done suggests that visitors who were to be entertained in the *andron* were deliberately led through the court. This suggestion is supported by the fact that, like the *andron*, court and *pastas* were decorated with coloured plaster walls, terracottas and metal ornaments. Such decoration contrasts with most other areas of the house, which were generally left plain and undecorated. Although this elaboration does not approach the kind of front/back space division seen, for example, in Roman houses (Thébert 1987; Wallace-Hadrill 1994 3–61), it is a pattern which marks out the court–*pastas* area and *andron* as a relatively 'public' part of the house.

One of the characteristics of the *andron* which is commented on by Robinson and Graham is that a significant proportion have at least one wall facing onto the street (Robinson and Graham 1938, 177) and the present analysis shows that this is the only room in the house whose location is influenced more by the position of the street than by compass orientation. Robinson and Graham suggest that this ensured that the room received as much daylight as possible (Robinson and Graham 1938, 178–179). Their argument is difficult to assess given the lack of house walls preserved high enough for it to be clear what type of windows were provided and where they were located. Nevertheless, on the analogy of well-preserved house walls at other sites,[5] it is likely that windows facing onto the street from any part of the ground floor would have been small in size and located high up in the walls, so that the amount of light entering the house from the street would have been severely limited. Small, high openings in the exterior wall may, however, have been important for ventilation in summer, and this, as well as a need for lighting, may explain the position of the room, particularly if the principal time at which the room was used was at or after sunset, when daylight may not have been a major consideration. Where the *andron* was preceded by an anteroom, this may also have restricted the amount of light entering from the court during daylight hours, particularly when the anteroom door was closed. Nevertheless, in a few houses at other sites where the walling is preserved to a greater height, the *andron* and anteroom seem to have been separated only by a low wall and pilasters.[6] This arrangement would presumably have allowed light to filter through if the anteroom door were open and the room were in use during daylight hours. It therefore seems possible that even if the principal time of use was in the evening for the *symposium*, the *andron* may also have been used at other times of day, when the door into the court was left open, guests were not in the house, and it may have provided a setting for family activities involving women and children.

In contrast with this clear evidence for the existence and architecture of the *andron*, there is no obviously identifiable *gunaikon*, or female area: rather than being confined to a limited part of the house, artefacts associated with female activity are present in a variety of spaces including the court and *andron*. This suggests that women's work was spread widely through the domestic context. Nevertheless, if, as has been argued on the basis of literary evidence, there had been an upper-storey space reserved especially for women (see above p. 19), it could not be distinguished because of the current lack of good stratigraphic information. The presence of a *gunaikon* in the upper storey might explain the wide distribution of items associated with women, since they may have fallen from the upper storey as it was destroyed. This is unlikely, however, since such objects are also found in the court, which was open and therefore had no second storey above. Furthermore, even in the houses which seem to have had only a single storey, no specific female area is visible, and the distribution of female-associated artefacts is similar to that in the two-storey houses. (This is discussed further below.) It therefore seems likely that women were present throughout the house as their activities required, and that there was no need for a specific room to be set aside for them. This does not exclude the possibility that certain areas would have been more frequented by the female members of the household than others: the flue may well represent an area commonly used by women as jewellery has sometimes been found there. In winter, the neighbouring room perhaps provided a larger workroom for tasks such as weaving, which may have been performed or supervised in combination with cooking in the flue area. There is, however, a conceptual difference between suggesting that an area was specifically set aside for the use of women, and that it was habitually used by them. The latter would still allow for the occurrence of literary allusions to a *gunaikonitis* in connection with the *andronitis* as a metaphor for contrast (see above pp. 37–38), but would see the *andronitis* as a more public area, used for entertaining, and the *gunaikonitis* as defining the remainder of the house, which was used as a family area.

The architectural evidence suggests, therefore, that far from the house being divided into two sections as is generally assumed (see above pp. 17–18), the different spaces at Olynthos were closely integrated, radiating from the central court, and there is little evidence to support the idea that men and women would have lived separately. This is not to say, however, that social relations had no effect on the organisation of the domestic environment. Control over social interaction is a strong feature of the Olynthian house, but the pattern of relationships must have been more complex than has previously been envisaged. The restriction of contact with the outside world to a single street entrance suggests a concern for isolating the house and making the domestic environment secure. The effect of this would have been enhanced if the only ground floor windows were small and high in the exterior walls, as they are at sites where well-preserved stone houses still stand above head height.[7] Having entered, a visitor on his way to the *andron* would have been shown the court, the centre of domestic life. Once inside the *andron*, however, he would have been separated from the remainder of the house by a closeable door, which can be reconstructed from the archaeological record through the presence of threshold blocks with fittings for hinges. Even if the door were open, the entrance to the *andron* was usually positioned so that there was no direct line of sight into any of the other rooms, and may also have been isolated by an anteroom with a doorway which was not aligned with that of the *andron*. These precautions would have ensured that there would have been privacy both for the household in the main living apartments from visitors in the *andron*, and for the visitors from the household.

The measures taken to isolate the house from the outside world, and the occupants of the *andron* from the remainder of the house, suggest some concern for regulating contact between two groups which can loosely be defined as household members and outsiders. Ethnographic studies show that similar measures taken in houses in some present-day societies are the result of a desire to restrict contact between women and unrelated men, because the sexual purity of the women is considered to be important and to need protection. The written evidence reviewed in Chapter 1 suggests that at Athens, too, the integrity of respectable women was vital in order to ensure that citizenship and control of the *oikos* could legitimately be inherited, and such concerns may well have been more widespread in the Greek world. There is therefore a strong argument for seeing these features of the organisation of the Olynthian houses as ensuring some degree of control over interaction between female household members and male visitors, although spatially this is achieved by restricting the movement of visitors, rather than by confining the women to their own area of the house as has been suggested in previous studies. In this context the desire to bring visitors through the court, the centre of domestic activity, is somewhat surprising; nevertheless, the householder would have had control over who was admitted to the house and who was not, and introducing a visitor into the house would be to put the household on show, demonstrating hospitality and trust in his integrity. Ethnographic studies show that such an arrangement is not necessarily inconsistent with a desire to separate these two groups, and that interaction between male guests and female household members could have been prevented by scheduling activity so that the family was not present in the court when guests passed through, or by using social conventions which prevented certain household members and visitors from engaging in social contact (for example Khatib-Chahidi 1981). (The possibility of such conventions operating in the Greek context is hinted at by the behaviour of the Homeric Penelope, who veils her face in the presence of the suitors in her home: *Odyssey* 16.416, although this obviously refers to an earlier period than that under discussion here, and, as already stressed, the relationship between the Homeric poems and the social practices of any period is uncertain.)

A major feature of the pattern of spatial organisation in the houses at Olynthos is that the occupants of the interior rooms would also have been able to look out into the lighter *pastas* and court through an open door or perhaps a low window, although in the dark interior of the house, they themselves would not have been so visible from the court unless directly in front of a door or window. From one of these rooms, or from the court itself, it would have been possible to see individuals entering or leaving the house or moving from room to room. These arrangements could have allowed a husband to keep an eye on his household from a single location. Nevertheless, the male members of the family must have spent considerable amounts of time away from the house, either participating in public life, or attending to the agricultural activity which must have formed the basis of most domestic economies. During the absence of the man of the house, the same pattern of organisation would also have made it possible for his wife or elderly relation to supervise any slaves or servants carrying out domestic tasks in the court, and to observe which rooms they entered, preventing unauthorised access to the household stores. The activities of children could also have been monitored in this way. Thus although the organisation of the household may appear restrictive in the sense that women could have been observed as they passed from room to room, it can also be seen as empowering them in the task of overseeing domestic activity if there were domestic workers present.

Unfortunately it is difficult to use this evidence to discuss the relationships taking place within the domestic context, alongside those between men and women and household members and outsiders. A major reason for this is that the main social pressures acting to shape the domestic environment seem to have been the issues of gender and kinship, while relationships between other individuals seem to have played a more minor role. As suggested in Chapter 3, members of the household such as children could potentially be detected in the archaeological record through specific types of movable object, particularly toys. Nevertheless such objects are found relatively rarely in domestic (as opposed to funerary) contexts, and a relatively large amount of material has had to be discounted here because of the lack of stratigraphic information, so that the presence of these individuals cannot currently be detected in the houses at Olynthos.

On a longer time-scale, changes in the use of domestic space are likely to reflect, at least in part, changes in the make-up of the household occupying an individual plot. This shows that potential existed for adaptation of the standardised house plot to specific requirements, and that the way in which individual spaces were used changed through time as the demands of individual households, and their ability to meet those demands, developed. This customisation was achieved both through the semi-fixed features (items of furniture), as indicated by a low level of patterning in relation to the finds and also, as a lack of uniformity of the architectural elements of the house shows, through the fixed (architectural) features. It even seems to have been possible to alter the most fixed elements of all, the outside walls, since in some instances different houses have been amalgamated or party walls realigned after the initial construction. Such adaptability suggests a similarity between the relatively organised environment of the late fifth century city, and the much more flexible type of settlement which must have preceded it, where the house may have mirrored the natural life-cycle of the family occupying it. As the number of occupants increased, the house would have expanded, and as they moved away, parts of the house would have fallen into disuse or been turned to alternative functions such as animal accommodation.[8] Various sale agreements recovered from the site (Robinson 1928; Robinson 1931; Robinson 1934; Cahill 1991, 376–383) indicate that houses also sometimes changed hands through time, accommodating different family groups.

In sum, it is possible to see the effects of utilitarian and environmental factors on the way in which different combinations of functions occur together in the house, for instance in the frequent association of cooking and washing facilities, in causing an outdoor space to be set aside for work or in governing the orientation of the house. Nevertheless, the precise way in which functional requirements were met also reveals some social factors. The form chosen – the courtyard house – is one which encloses and isolates the living space. (Functionally, a verandah house may have been equally well adapted to the climatic situation, providing shaded outdoor areas which would have trapped breezes in the summer whilst keeping the worst of the weather from the outer walls in winter.) The centripetal nature of the house is increased by the fact that there was generally only one street entrance and that the rooms normally communicated only via the court (which in winter must have been a disadvantage). In this way the possibility of contact with the outside is controlled, yet the provision of a specific space for entertaining in the form of the *andron*, and the decoration of areas of the house which visitors would see, suggests that social life was also important. Overall, the environment created is a self-sufficient and private unit where social relations were subject to control, and the design of the house would have been well adapted for the use of scheduling as a device for separating different groups such as male and female, slave and free, and especially guest and family. This analysis suggests that although the houses at Olynthos are by no means homogeneous with respect to the organisation of internal space, there are some trends in spatial syntax which reveal some of the underlying priorities involved in construction.

Comparing different households

A final issue which remains to be tackled is the extent of some of the differences between households in social and economic terms and the degree to which this affected domestic social relations. One means of investigating the level of wealth of individual households which is sometimes adopted is to look at variation in house size. Although the Hippodamian grid plan of the city gives an appearance of regularity, there is in fact variation between houses in the amount of ground they occupy (see Figure 11 above) and this affects the organisation of interior space and the patterns of activity within. Differences in house size result from a number of factors. Firstly, despite the use of the regular grid plan in almost all of the excavated areas, there was in fact some degree of variation in plot size in different parts of the city. Notably, the houses built along the western wall of the North Hill are of slightly different dimensions from their counterparts in the central *insulae* of the same area (approximately 17 × 22 m as compared with 17 × 17 m). Also, some of the houses in the so-called 'villa area' (which lay on the plain below the main part of the settlement on the North Hill) seem to have been designed so that although they still fitted into the grid plan of the city, they tend to incorporate a larger area (for example house F-III 2–4, the so-called 'villa of good fortune', measures approximately 17 × 25 m). Finally, in a few instances house-plots were reorganised subsequent to the original layout of the city, and new partition walls constructed which allowed some houses to expand at the expense of their neighbours (as in the case of houses AVII 3 and AVII 5, and houses AV 6 and AV 8).[9]

In addition to these sources of variation in the overall size of a house, a second influence on the living space available is the extent to which rooms were included which were not part of the residential complex, and which may have been used for agriculture, craft production or commerce. Such facilities were identified by the excavators, for example in house AXI 10 (Graham 1953, 196–198). As mentioned above, there are no characteristic patterns of finds which can be used as indicators of shop, workshop or stabling facilities, but there are some architectural features which are sometimes coupled with characteristic absences of finds and suggest that certain spaces in some of the houses may have performed this kind of function. In particular there are sometimes apartments which are entered directly from the street and are often unconnected with the remainder of the house (for example area a in house AVI 8). Such spaces were incorporated in up to 20 per cent of the houses in the sample. The extent to which the ground floor living space of some houses has been reduced by the incorporation of this kind of facility can be seen by comparing the range of the ground floor-space as a whole (Figure 11 above) with the area of the ground floor which seems to have been living space (Figure 13).

In practice the effects of variation in the amount of living space provided on the ground floor would have been modified by whether or not individual houses also had upper storeys. The influence of such provision on the overall organisation of a house is difficult to explore because of the nature of the archaeological record: as noted above, stone stairbases were found in some of the houses and the stairs probably led to an upper storey rather than to flat roof space. The extent of the upper storey is, however, unknown and it could have consisted of anything from a single room above one part of the house to an upper floor covering most or all of the roofed area of the lower storey. On an *a priori* basis it seems likely that the availability of extra room in

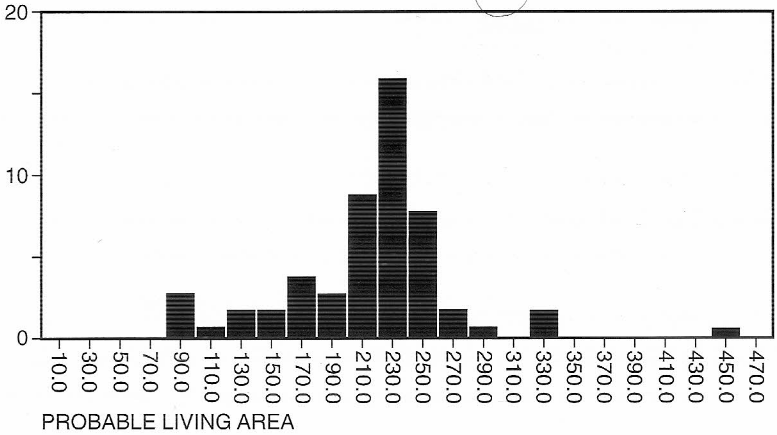


Figure 13. Histogram showing the variation in the amount of probable living space in houses from the Olynthos sample (square metres)

an upper storey would have had an effect on the organisation of space on the ground floor, since it would have enabled some functions to be transferred upstairs, leaving more space for those that remained at ground level. One way of exploring the possible effects of this is by splitting the houses into two groups according to whether or not the excavators found a stairbase, and looking at the organisation of space in each using the kind of cross-tabulation analysis which was applied above to the houses as a whole. Perhaps surprisingly, separate cross-tabulation of those houses where the presence of stairbases suggests that an upper storey was present, and those from rows where there seem to have been no stairbases and therefore probably no upper storey, reveals no significantly different patterns in the two groups.[10]

The presence of an upper storey does not, on present evidence, appear to have a significant effect on the layout of activities on the ground floor, but there are clear differences in the organisation of houses with different amounts of space on the ground floor. These are immediately apparent when comparing the form of the smallest houses against the patterns established in the previous two sections. The limited sample of small houses will not allow statistical analysis, but from observation of the individual plans it is clear that they tend to preserve the court and centripetal pattern found in their larger neighbours. At the same time, however, the covered portico identified in the majority of houses is generally missing and the number of rooms is reduced, so that a single space must have had to serve for a greater number of purposes than in the larger houses. A clearly differentiated *andron* is also normally lacking. In addition there seems to have been less emphasis given to screening the street entrance of the house from the court and other domestic areas. Examples showing some or all of these characteristics are houses Avi 8, Avii 3, Avii 8 and Bvii 9, each of which covers a reduced area owing to the incorporation of large spaces which may not have served a domestic function (as identified above), and the houses making up plots Aiv 7, Aviii 10 and C-x 7, which all seem to have been subdivided (see Robinson 1946, 72, 54f and 265, respectively). Cross-tabulation shows that there is no tendency for houses incorporating non-residential functions to cluster in a specific area of the city.

The effects of a larger-than-average ground area on the organisation of space are less obvious. Only two houses in the sample are involved, Av 6 and F-III 2 (the 'villa of good fortune'). Av 6 resembles the houses of average size in its pattern of organisation, with the additional space taken up by a larger court–*pastas* area and an increased number of rooms. F-III 2 is somewhat more unusual, and McDonald questions whether it was actually residential in function, arguing instead that it served as a 'high-class inn' (McDonald 1951, 365). This interpretation is based on the building's size and the fact that it has some unusual features. These include a rear entrance, a large store-room (Robinson and Graham 1938, Plate 85, 2), and mosaic floors carrying references to good luck. The house also lacks a bathroom, which is unexpected for a structure of this size. Further oddities are that several rooms have mosaic floors, including a double suite on the eastern side of the house which lacks the usual couch emplacements typical for an *andron*. Nevertheless, although it is clearly exceptional in size and anomalous in some respects, the building does also have a number of features found in domestic structures. Rooms b and c resemble Mylonas' *oikos*-complex, and at least some decorative motifs also find parallels in other houses, such as the 'wheel of fortune' mosaic, which is found in several *andrones* (for example, in house AVI 6, room J (Robinson 1933, 9 and Plate 14b). As Cahill comments, the large storage capacity could be explained by the size of the house (and a correspondingly larger household size) and does not seem unreasonable (Cahill 1991, 337–339). It does not, therefore seem impossible that this structure could have been a private house, although one unlike its neighbours in the area it covers and in the size of the individual rooms. As with many of the other rooms on the site which have plaster or mosaic floors, few finds come from the room with the wheel of fortune mosaic, aside from stray coins and a loomweight, which are not sufficient to give a picture of the function of the room. Room e did, however, contain an undrained cement basin, set into the floor. This, together with the apparent lack of couch emplacements, and the unusual proportions of the two rooms, suggests that these two rooms may have had a different use from the usual *andron*–anteroom complex, although we can do no more than speculate about their purpose.

The degree to which these variations in ground area can be interpreted as an indication of economic and/or social differences between the households once occupying them is problematic. In many archaeological contexts house size is used as an index of economic and/or social status, but there are a variety of other factors which also affect the amount of living space used by a household, the most notable of which is the number of occupants (see above pp. 31–32). Clearly, then, other aspects of the archaeological record have to be taken into account in assessing the likely extent of economic differential between households. A further potential source of information is the contents of the different houses. It is impossible to single out one category of finds which can be used as an index of wealth. In particular, the traditional perception of painted pottery as a luxury item has recently been discredited (Gill 1988; Vickers and Gill 1994, 1–32). It is also necessary to remember that only a limited range of objects remains, with textiles, wooden artefacts and the contents of storage vessels failing to survive, while many of the valuable objects such as metal vessels may well have been removed because they were relatively portable. In the context of Olynthos it is impossible to compare directly the numbers or density of different types of objects found in different houses for a variety of reasons. During the excavations some rooms were cleared completely while others were left only partially dug. Even where rooms were cleared in their entirety, they are sometimes not directly comparable because of inconsistencies in what was recorded. In addition, formation processes have also affected the extent to which artefacts have remained in different parts of the site, since the depth of the fill in an individual house seems to have had some bearing on the number of objects recovered from that house (see Cahill 1991, 262–264). In short, the number and type of objects found in different houses is open to too many different sources of variation to be useful in trying to assess the relative wealth of different households.

An alternative approach is to concentrate on architectural features used to elaborate the domestic environment, which might offer an indication of disposable income. These comprise plaster walls, mosaic floors, plaster floors and the raised edge which is characteristic of the *andron*. Grouping the rooms in each house together (rather than analysing the material room by room, as is done above when looking at activity areas) cross-tabulation produces some associations, suggesting that these elements tend to occur in the same houses and form part of a decorative ensemble. Plaster floors are associated with mosaic floors, plaster walls and raised borders (the chi square values are listed in Appendix 3). Interestingly, however, cross-tabulation of these features against house size, with the houses divided into five size-categories, gives no strong correlation. This result indicates that these features are found in a variety of houses of different sizes and are not particularly associated with the largest, suggesting that size alone is not a direct index of the affluence of a household. Nevertheless, from observation of individual structures it is clear that there is a tendency for the smallest to lack these kinds of features, whilst they are most prominent in a number of larger houses to the east of the North Hill, which Robinson and Graham called the 'villa area' (Robinson 1946, 183–263). Unfortunately the number of houses excavated here is relatively small, and most of them are excluded from the present analysis because of problems with preservation or recording. Likewise, the numbers of houses which are substantially smaller due to the incorporation of large non-residential facilities or the dividing of a single plot between several properties is also very small. These limitations on sample size mean that the two extremes do not show up in the statistical analysis. Nevertheless, when this evidence is viewed in the context of the contrast between the houses on the North and South Hills, it suggests that there may have been some degree of zoning of residential property. It is, however, debatable to what extent these differences resulted from differences in the wealth and/or social status of their occupants *per se*, rather than from the time at which the areas were laid out and the houses constructed.

Conclusions: house and society in fourth-century Olynthos

The architectural and artefactual analyses of the archaeological data from Olynthos presented here suggest that the organisation of the domestic environment was more complex, and less standardised, than might at first appear.[11] Although there is no evidence that these houses were divided into different male and female areas, restrictions on access to the house as a whole and the way in which movement is channelled within do suggest that gender relationships probably exerted a major influence on the organisation of the household. Nevertheless, this must be set alongside another set of relationships, those between household members and outsiders. Together, these two factors represent the strongest social influence on domestic organisation.

There is no way of telling exactly how representative the current sample of houses is of the original range of housing in the city as a whole, and the smallest, most irregular structures are likely to be under-represented due to the lack of attention paid to the South Hill. The relatively large numbers of regular houses do, however, suggest that these represented a standard over much of the city. It is unclear how far the similarities in social pressures affecting most of the households can be taken as indications of social status. Nevertheless, it could be argued tentatively that the smallest structures, which appear to lack many of the features associated above with the control of social relationships, may represent the households of groups which were subject to different behavioural norms. It may be that what can be seen here is some sort of citizen versus non-citizen distinction, and this possibility is considered in detail in Chapter 7. First, however, it is necessary to explore the extent to which the patterns isolated here in the context of Olynthos may be representative of a wider range of Greek cities.

5

Olynthos in context: houses in northern, central and southern Greece and the Aegean islands

Introduction

As stressed in Chapter 3, Olynthos is exceptional in the number of houses excavated, and unusual in the detail recorded. The circumstances of the abandonment and the good preservation are also uncommon. From the analysis of that site, it is clear that the patterns emerging from the distribution of artefacts tend to correspond with the broader spatial and architectural organisation of a house. In relation to other sites this is significant because it suggests that even where little or no information is available about the finds (as is generally the case), it is still possible to reconstruct some aspects of domestic organisation based on architectural information alone. (This process should be seen as a reflection of the available data rather than as implying some priority of the one source over the other.) No other site of appropriate date from mainland Greece and the islands has been excavated extensively enough to produce a sufficient sample of houses for statistical analysis either of finds or architecture. Comments can therefore be made only about how individual structures or groups of structures relate to the model outlined above with reference to Olynthos. Nevertheless, by using a large number of examples from a variety of different sites a regional picture emerges.

The houses discussed in this chapter are distributed across Greece and vary in date from the mid-fifth century to the mid-third century BC. Houses are discussed which offer as coherent a picture of domestic organisation as possible, and this generally involves concentrating on those that are fully excavated and published in some detail, together with a few more fragmentary examples which allow specific points to be explored. In order to assess the degree to which domestic organisation changed through time the different houses are discussed within a broad chronological framework. There is some variability in the precision with which individual structures can be dated, and for the later fourth century, which yields the bulk of the available material, there are a number of structures which are of approximately the same date. In order to clarify the underlying patterns, houses of similar date are grouped according to the traditional architectural category into which they traditionally fall (*pastas* house, *prostas* house, etc.: see above pp. 22–25). Except where noted otherwise, discussion focuses on the last phase of occupation of any one structure, since this is generally the best preserved and therefore offers the most coherent picture. The plans are shown below on a uniform orientation and using standardised conventions, in order to facilitate comparison. Both urban and rural houses are considered together, as only a small number of rural houses have been excavated and they show similar patterns of spatial organisation to their urban counterparts. The relationship of the individual houses to the broader settlement organisation is undoubtedly significant, but lies beyond the scope of the present study. It is, however, important to point out the fact that even cities such as Athens were very small by modern standards, in terms of both population and ground area, and this must have affected both the nature of the social relationships taking place, and the role which domestic architecture played within those relationships.

Houses of the later fifth to mid-fourth centuries

This section comprises discussion of both *prostas* and *pastas* houses, together with other single courtyard structures with unorthodox forms of portico or without any portico. There are a number of clear similarities between some of the houses of this period and the model outlined above for the organisation of space at Olynthos, suggesting that some of the same influences were involved in shaping the domestic environment in a range of different communities. At the same time, however, it is clear that there was a degree of variation in the way in which similar goals were achieved, and there were also changes in the organisation of the domestic environment over time. Grouping this material together does suggest, however, that despite the architectural distinctions which have been made in the past between *prostas* and *pastas* houses, these types of house all had comparable patterns of spatial syntax.

Although some fragmentary material of fifth-century date is known, the number of complete fifth-century houses which can be used to explore domestic spatial organisation during this period is very small. At a number of sites earlier houses were destroyed in the course of reconstruction during the fourth century. At Mecyberna, the port of Olynthos, for example, the excavators suggest that the fourth-century city replaced an earlier one destroyed during the Persian invasion in the late fifth century (Mylonas 1939; Mylonas 1943, 86). A more extreme case is Piraeus, the harbour town of Athens, where the fifth-century levels have been affected not only by fourth-century reconstruction, but also by subsequent occupation down to modern times. So, for example, one recently excavated house from 11 Meirarchias street is dated by a number of early fifth-century fineware sherds (Kraounaki 1994, 35, 37–38), but the structure is poorly preserved with only part of the house still extant and the locations of most of the doorways unclear (*ibid.*, Figure 27), so that little can be said about the overall organisation of space.

Similar problems must affect the study of housing dating from any period of antiquity, yet the lack of fifth-century material is noticeable in comparison with the number of fourth-century houses. Part of the explanation for this may be the nature of the fifth-century structures themselves: where they are not overlain by the subsequent building of houses of this date, they cannot always be identified easily with the familiar *prostas* or *pastas* models. For example at Torone, which is located on the Chalkidiki peninsula near Olynthos, the excavators suggest that the houses may have resembled the *Herdraum* type (Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1988, 186), although

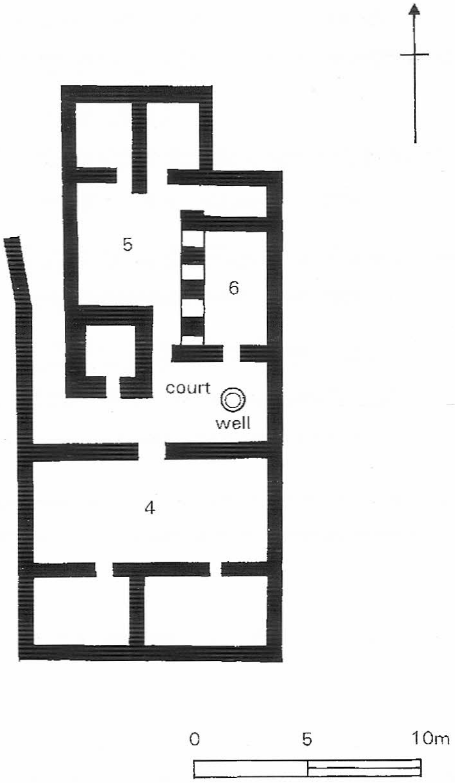


Figure 14. Plan of the Dystos house, Euboia

insufficient information has been published to confirm this view. Some houses of this date may also be more difficult to identify than their fourth-century counterparts because they are less regular in form. (This possibility is discussed further in Chapter 7.)

The so-called large house at Dystos, Euboia (Wiegand 1899; Luce 1971), exemplifies some of the potential ambiguities (Figure 14).[1] It is unexcavated, so there is no stratigraphic evidence by which to date it and no finds through which to establish the uses of the rooms. On the basis of the masonry style of the walls, which are preserved to a considerable height, it has been suggested that the structure dates from some time in the fifth century (Luce 1971, 146). These walls enclose an area of approximately 220 m^2. Entrance was through a narrow passage on the west side, which turns through 90 degrees into what was probably a small court. Adjacent lies a small chamber which is built out into the court and has thickened walls. Luce identifies this as a porter's room, although the sturdy construction suggests the alternative possibility that this may have been the ground floor of a tower which originally had two or more storeys. (Towers attached to urban houses are known from a few other locations, for example at Kolophon in Asia Minor: Holland 1944, 129f; and possibly also from Halieis, which is discussed later in this chapter.) The court divides the living space into two separate sections. To the south is a suite consisting of one large room giving access separately to two smaller chambers lying side by side at the rear. Opposite, to the north, lies a cluster of five interconnected rooms. Room 6, which is entered from the court, has a series of openings along one side. A similar structure found at the later house, house I at Ammotopos, has been interpreted as a cooking area with smoke vents (see below). If this was also the case at Dystos it would imply that the neighbouring space (5) into which the vents led was unroofed so as to offer a satisfactory outlet for smoke. The functions of the remaining three small rooms which are each entered independently from space 5 are unclear.

Certain details of Luce's reconstruction of the use of some of the rooms seem unlikely: for instance he interprets the large southern room (4) as an *andron* (*ibid.*, 145) despite its long thin shape and its two rear rooms. Notwithstanding his attempts to compare this with the houses excavated at Olynthos, the pattern of activity within must have been rather different because of the way in which space was divided into two distinct parts, and also because some of the rooms are reached in series rather than via a central space. Indeed Luce himself suggests that the structure may have belonged to some kind of local dignitary and that it may have performed a dual function as a private residence and as a public building (*ibid.*, 146). This would also make it different from anything identified at Olynthos. The same binary division of space is interpreted by Walker as evidence for a separate *andron* and *gunaikon* (Walker 1983, 85 and Fig. 6.4). In the absence either of information on objects or architectural features from the individual rooms or of any contemporary parallels, the exact nature of this structure and the uses of the different apartments remain to be established with any certainty.

Single courtyard houses

One of the best sources of information about the organisation of space in late fifth-century houses is a single rural structure excavated near the Dema wall in Attica (Jones *et al.* 1962) (Figure 15). This house is likely to antedate those at Olynthos by a few decades. It covers a rectangular plot, augmented by two annexes of uncertain purpose which are built up against the eastern wall. The main structure covers around 355 m² in ground area, although approximately 170 m², or almost 50 per cent of this is taken up by a large southerly court, bounded in some places by the walls of adjacent rooms and in others by a perimeter wall. In terms of spatial organisation it follows a similar pattern to that identified above at Olynthos (Chapter 4). The walls are preserved to a height of only one or two courses, and much of the south wall and the centre of the court have been disturbed and damaged, but most of the plan is clearly marked by the stone foundations for mudbrick walls (*ibid.*, 75 and 77). Small finds and a large number of badly preserved sherds were recorded and published, although the find-spots of the pottery are not noted in the publication so that it is not possible to suggest the activities which may have taken place in the various rooms.

An entrance led into the house via two doors on the eastern side, both of which opened into the same internal porch space (room VII) (*ibid.*, 79). There is no evidence for any other entrance to the house, although this possibility cannot entirely be ruled

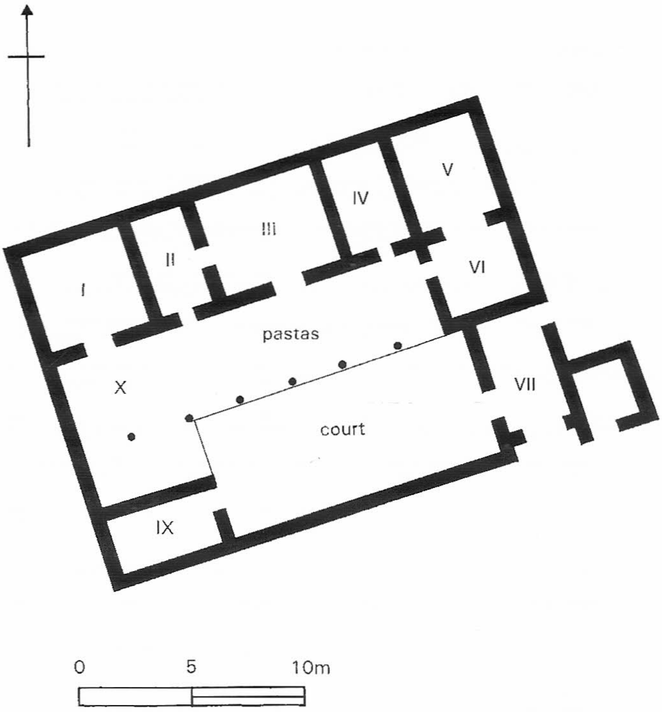


Figure 15. Plan of the Dema house, Attica

out given the ruinous state of the southern boundary wall. Individual rooms are ranged along the northern and eastern sides of the court. A single column-base towards the western wall is taken by the excavators to suggest that there was some form of colonnade or *pastas*. As indicated in Figure 15, this would have run along the north side of the court, sheltering the doors of the rooms (*ibid.*, 108–109), the majority of which were probably entered directly from the court, although again, the poor state of preservation means that this is not certain (*ibid.*, 100). The arrangement of rooms II and III, together with their relative sizes, is reminiscent of the cooking area/washing area/living-room combination found in the Olynthian *oikos* unit, and the excavators do in fact interpret room III as a kitchen (*ibid.*, 110). Nevertheless, although there were limited signs of burning in the north-west corner of room III (*ibid.*, 77–78), the traces of plaster waterproofing or of a hearth, which could be expected if the two spaces were being used in this manner, are lacking. Fragments of a bathtub which were found in the south-western room, room IX, and pieces of a terracotta *louter* found in the court and the adjacent space X, may indicate that provision was made for washing elsewhere in the house (*ibid.*, 111). The suggestion of the excavators that room I served as an *andron* is difficult to verify: as they rightly point out, although it lacks any form of decoration or a mosaic floor, it does have an off-centre doorway which is characteristic of *andrones* at many sites. Nevertheless, there are no traces of other features which accompany simple *andrones* elsewhere,

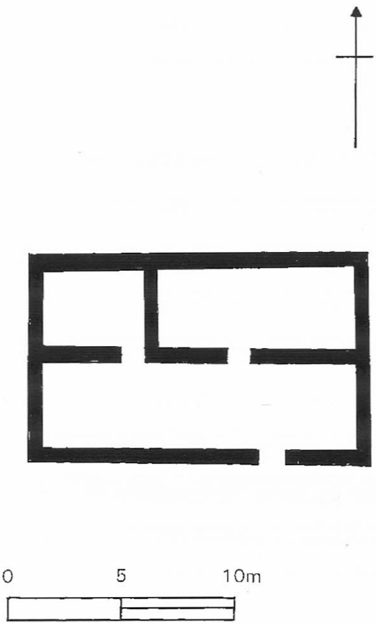


Figure 16. Plan of farm C-38 (Palio Pithari) at Karystia, Euboia

such as the raised border for the positioning of couches, or the drain which presumably facilitated the cleaning of the floor, and for this reason the use of the room must remain debatable.

The Dema house, then, is similar in a number of respects to the houses from Olynthos: space is centred around an open court which lies in a southerly position. A portico to the north probably sheltered the entrances to the main rooms. The evidence for the existence of an *andron* is not conclusive, but it is possible that such a facility was provided. Although the house covers a comparatively large area this is accounted for by the large size of the court, which presumably was not restricted in size in the same way as the court of an urban house would have been. Its large size perhaps provided space for storage and processing of agricultural produce. These parallels in spatial syntax suggest that activity may have been organised in a similar way, with the court and *pastas* used for a variety of domestic chores, although there is insufficient evidence to suggest whether the emphasis on privacy, seen at Olynthos, was also an influence at the Dema house.

A much smaller and less well-preserved rural house at site C-38 at Karystia, Euboia (Keller and Wallace 1988, 151–154) is probably of about the same date. It seems to have a similar basic layout with a southern entrance and rooms on the north side (Figure 16), although no detailed information about the finds or architecture has been published.

These two rural establishments find counterparts in several fifth-century urban houses from Athens. The fact that the city has been occupied continuously since antiquity means that it is difficult to reveal large areas of houses of similar dates (Graham 1974, 46). It is, however, possible to form an impression of general patterns of organisation by looking at the results of isolated excavations of small numbers of structures in various parts of the city centre. These are generally not well preserved, but taken together they do have something to offer. In ancient times housing seems to have been concentrated in the area around the Pnyx, between a maze of narrow winding streets (Travlos 1971, 392). Some investigation took place here in the nineteenth century (Burnouf 1856). More recent work has revealed a variety of structures mostly dating to the fourth century, which do not seem to have been sufficiently well preserved to have yielded comprehensible plans (for example Miliadis 1955; H. A. Thompson 1957, 100; Vanderpool 1957, 281; H. A. Thompson 1959, 103–108; D. B. Thompson 1960; H. A. Thompson 1966, 51–53; Shear 1969, 383–394). Our most detailed information relating to the fifth century comes from the Agora excavations: of the eight or so houses whose plans have been published, all seem originally to have been constructed early in the fifth century, but to have undergone substantial phases of rebuilding at intervals during the fifth and fourth centuries. In some instances the organisation of space during the earliest periods of occupation cannot now be reconstructed, and the only reliable plans refer to the later, fourth-century phases, which are discussed below.

One group of houses which has been reconstructed in its fifth-century form is a residential block from the north foot of the Areopagus (Thompson and Wycherley 1972,177–180) (Figure 17). In this instance it is difficult to determine exactly how many houses made up the block, but there are features which suggest some of the priorities involved in construction. The houses are arranged in two rows, back-to-back, with no separating alley. On the eastern side there are clearly two separate properties. The plan of the northern one is best preserved. It was entered from the north and the street door was separated from the court which lay beyond by a partition wall. Seven rooms of different sizes were reached individually from the court and there is no evidence that any of them were interconnected.

The western side of the block was divided into a series of four units, each with a separate door onto the street. The excavators suggest that these may have been two houses, each with a separate annexe (Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 179), although there is no evidence for connecting doors between any of the units. The two units to the south are the best preserved: the southernmost is the smaller, with an area of only approximately 50 m². An entrance leads directly into the interior. Space is organised into three parts consisting of an outer court and a *pastas*-like area, with a roof supported by a single column, giving onto an inner room. The next-door unit is larger, measuring about 70 m², and has a different pattern of organisation. Like its neighbour it has an open court with three small rooms along the north side which seem to have been reached in sequence. On the eastern side is a large square store-room furnished with *pithoi*, its entrance sheltered by a colonnade.

This block, then, includes a range of houses of different sizes. The two larger structures have a familiar layout, with a single entrance, a central court, and surrounding rooms which were entered separately. The comparability of the features in

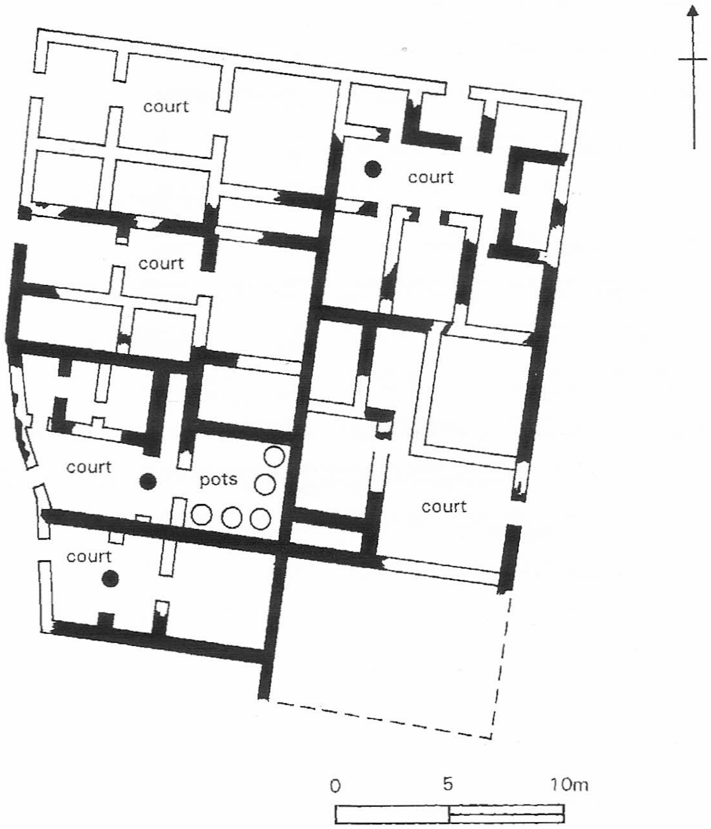


Figure 17. Plan of the houses at the north foot of the Areopagos, Athens

these houses with aspects of the houses found at Olynthos suggests that similar patterns of social behaviour prevailed, with the house considered as a private environment and activity within subject to supervision from a single location. In the smaller units the street door is not screened from the court, although some privacy for the single inner room may have been afforded by the shade of the colonnade. Nevertheless, the very restricted amount of space would have meant that if these four small groups of rooms were indeed independent houses, there could have been little opportunity for the kind of segmentation of space seen in most of the houses at Olynthos. Even if each one had an upper storey covering the entire roofed area, the smallest would have had a total living space of less than 100 m^2. This must have had inevitable consequences for the pattern of activity within. There can have been little opportunity to separate different individuals or activities in the domestic environment, and life in these houses must have been similar to that in the very smallest houses at Olynthos, which were of a comparable size.

A fourth-century structure at the Boiotian site of Ano Siphai (Schwandner 1977; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 323) covers a similar area and has a similar layout to these small houses (Figure 18). If this was indeed a house (which may be doubted

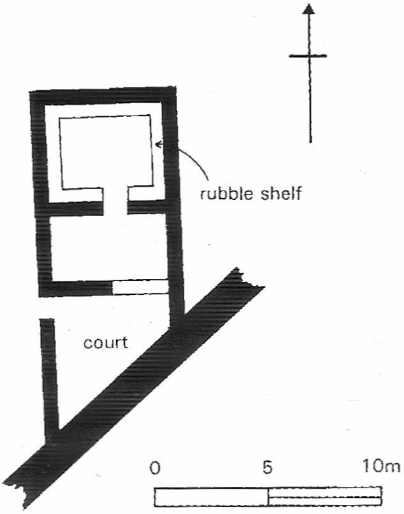


Figure 18. Plan of the structure at Ano Siphai

if Tomlinson and Fossey are correct in ascribing a military or religious function to the site as a whole: Tomlinson and Fossey 1970), its inhabitants must have adopted a similar life-style to those who dwelled in the small Athenian structures, with a variety of activities taking place in a single location and little opportunity to separate different individuals.

Comparable features occur in houses C and D near the Great Drain at Athens, whose fifth-century phases can also be reconstructed (Young 1951, 202–228; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 173–178). These are somewhat larger and, like many other Athenian houses, are of irregular appearance because the walls do not always abut at right angles (Figure 19). House D, which lies to the south-east and shares a party wall with its larger neighbour, covers an area of approximately 130 m². The main entrance leads via a dog-leg passage into a central court. Three of the four rooms give directly onto this area, while the fourth does not abut the court and therefore has to be entered indirectly. From the court a narrow passage carries a drain out onto the street behind the house, and may have offered a rear entrance like those in a small number of the Olynthian houses.

House C covers an area of roughly 225 m² and comprises ten rooms of varying sizes. (There is no evidence to suggest that either this house or its neighbour had an upper storey.) Of the ground-floor rooms, one to the north, near the entrance, seems to have been entered only from the street and may therefore have been a shop (Young 1951, 206). The remainder of the house is approached via a long corridor which gave direct access to two further rooms and to the main living area. The majority of the space is organised around a central court which gives access to all but one of the other rooms. This court is partly screened from the entrance passage by a wall, which would have blocked sight-lines into the rooms on the opposite side. Little published

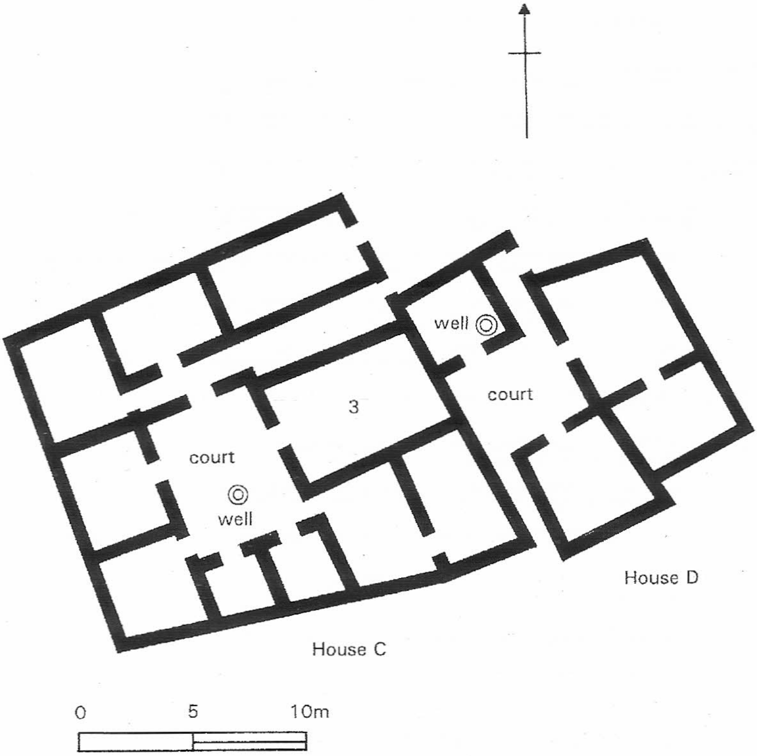


Figure 19. Plan of the houses near the Great Drain, Athens

information is so far available about the details of the architecture, and especially the finds, which might enable the function of these rooms to be determined. The excavators identify room 3 as an *andron* on the grounds that it is the largest room in the house and is in the 'best position' (*ibid.*, 206). In fact, however, it has none of the characteristic features of the Olynthian *andron*, such as mosaic or cement flooring, a raised border, or an off-centre doorway.

Despite their differences in size, houses C and D both share some of the features which are highlighted in Chapter 4 as suggesting particular underlying patterns of social behaviour. In each case the entrance seems to be arranged deliberately in order to prevent the interior of the house from being visible from the street, and the court is central to the organisation of space, controlling access to the individual rooms. In addition, space in house C is divided into three distinct sections consisting of an outer area unconnected with the remainder of the house, an intermediate area within the house itself but spatially and visually separate, and the main part of the house itself, which centred on the court. This segmented pattern of organisation would have allowed different activities to take place independently in different parts of the house without interruption, and would have enhanced the privacy of the innermost area, although the less integrated layout would have made it difficult to supervise activities in all parts of the house from a single location.

Subsequent remodelling of these two houses during the fourth century resulted in a door being knocked through between the two (Young 1951, 214). Traces of metal- and marble-working suggest that the smaller house (house D) became a workshop (Young 1951, 222). Amongst the architectural changes which were made, the court in house C was extended to the north-west by the removal of the spur walls which separated it from the entrance corridor. This incorporated into the main part of the house the two rooms which originally opened from the entranceway. The construction of spur walls closer to the door itself must have restricted the view into the extended court. In house D the entrance was diverted through the northwestern room, allowing the original entrance passage to be made into a narrow anteroom with a wide opening onto the court. A single column base inserted into the floor in front of this area suggests the erection of a roofed space in the corner of the court (Young 1951, 221). Both this and the anteroom would have provided space in which to work during the summer, shaded from the sun but less airless than the interior of the building. This conversion probably resulted in a single large structure which provided both accommodation and workshop space in distinct but interconnected areas, and with apparent concern for sustaining the privacy of the domestic apartments by restricting the view from the street outside. Again, this is a pattern of organisation which is found in some of the houses from Olynthos, which also have separate rooms or suites which were apparently not domestic in use.

Similar principles underlie the spatial organisation of a further group of three neighbouring houses on the Areopagus (Figure 20). These were originally constructed during the early fifth century (Shear 1973, 147), but these earlier levels are represented only in a fragmentary state, and the restored plans are of late fourth-century date (*ibid.*, 148). The largest and most elaborate example has an area of well over 300 m² and lies at the centre of the group.[2] Unfortunately, it is poorly preserved but, as reconstructed by the excavators, resembles the houses from Olynthos quite closely. The entrance is on the east side. There appears to have been little attempt to block the lines of sight between the door and the interior of the house and to create a private environment, but its location at the side of the house, close to a neighbour, on a narrow alley may have limited the number of passers-by who may have looked in when the door was open. Once inside, a narrow corridor leads into a southern peristyle court which has rooms on three sides. Beside the entrance is a room with mosaic floor, raised border and off-centre doorway, which must have been an *andron* (Shear 1973, 152). Included amongst the other rooms are two with mosaic pavements, one of which was a double suite comprising a mosaic-paved anteroom and an inner room. The function of these additional mosaic-paved rooms is difficult to reconstruct, although they may have served as a setting for entertaining guests, in addition to the *andron,* or as living apartments. In particular the mosaic anteroom and plain inner room is an unusual combination.[3] The lack of a permanent raised area for couches in two of the mosaic-paved rooms means that they may have accommodated a broader range of activities than would have been possible in a normal *andron* which had a fixed arrangement of couches around the wall. Nevertheless, the general principles on which the house is organised, with the restriction of

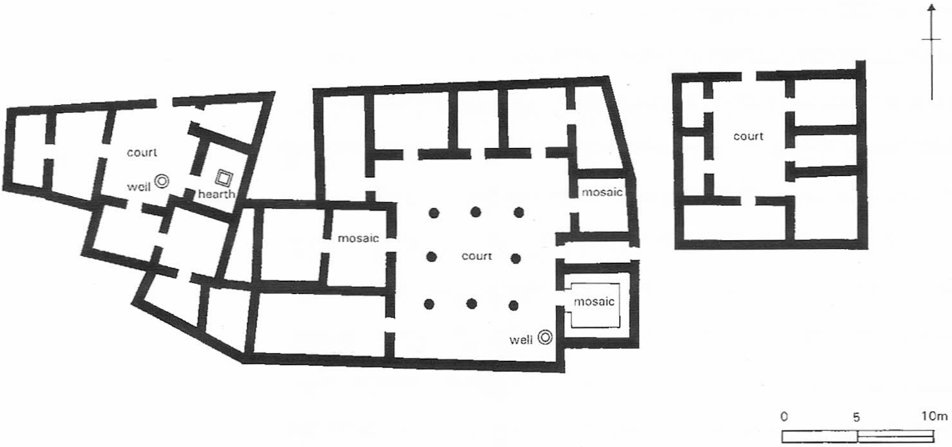


Figure 20. Plan of the houses from the Areopagos, Athens

access and the centripetal pattern of organisation of the rooms, indicates similar patterns of activity to those outlined in Chapter 4, and would have allowed close monitoring of movement between interior and exterior and between the different rooms.

The house to the west was smaller in size, with an area of less than 150 m². The rooms were each entered individually from the court except where the room's position made this impossible, giving small suites to the south and west. The excavators suggest that one room on the eastern side was used as an *andron* (Shear 1973, 147) and its entrance was in the characteristic off-centre position, although there are no traces of plaster flooring or emplacements for couches which might support the interpretation. There is also a built hearth in the centre of the room in its first phase, which is unlike many other rooms of this type but does find parallels in Priene and Abdera (Graham 1972, 298). The third house was of approximately the same size, although it was more regular in shape. Six rooms of various sizes each led directly off the court without communicating with their neighbours. Although it is possible that the courts of both of these houses were used for domestic activities, there is no indication that there was any kind of colonnade to provide shade. Until detailed information is available about the distribution of the finds, it is unclear to what extent the court would have been used in preference to the interior of the house. The important role it played in circulation patterns would have meant that movement around the house could have been supervised from a single location, although the absence of any screening device by the street door of either house would have meant that the court itself was overlooked from the street when the door was open.

A similar pattern of organisation has been found in houses of fourth-century date from elsewhere in Greece. Detailed evidence relating both to architecture and to finds is provided by three structures from the main town on the northern Aegean island of Thasos (Figures 21–23). As is the case with Athens, settlement here has a

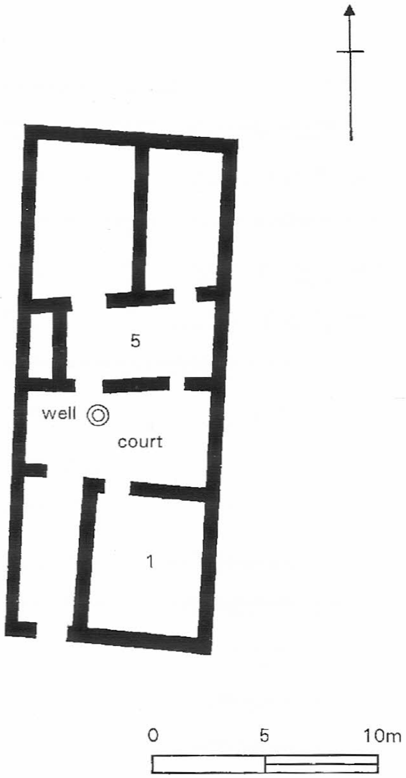


Figure 21. Plan of house A in Block 1 from near the Silen Gate, Thasos (period 4, phase 1)

long history and traces of the ancient buildings are badly disturbed by later construction, including Roman and Mediaeval as well as modern. Nevertheless, the plans of three complete houses have been reconstructed. Each was inhabited for several centuries and underwent considerable modification during the period of occupation. Two adjoining houses from near the Silen Gate were first built in the mid-fourth century, and went through a series of phases into the early third century (Garlan 1974, 799; Grandjean 1976, 768; Grandjean 1988, 97).[4] The two houses are similar in plan although house B has an angled eastern wall, giving a somewhat haphazard appearance. Each property was entered from the street via a narrow passage which led into a centrally placed court, giving in turn onto a small number of rooms. The houses cover an area of just over 200 m², but in the case of house A, at least, a staircase in at least one phase indicates that there must also have been some living space in the upper storey. (As at Olynthos, access to a flat roof must be ruled out by the amount of tile recovered, which indicates a pitched roof: Grandjean 1988, 387.)

In its first phase, house A had only four rooms on the ground floor, one to the south of the court and three to the north. The northern range consisted of two rooms which were approached via a large rectangular anteroom, room 5, with two separate entrances. In shape and position room 5 resembles an enlarged version of the *pastas*

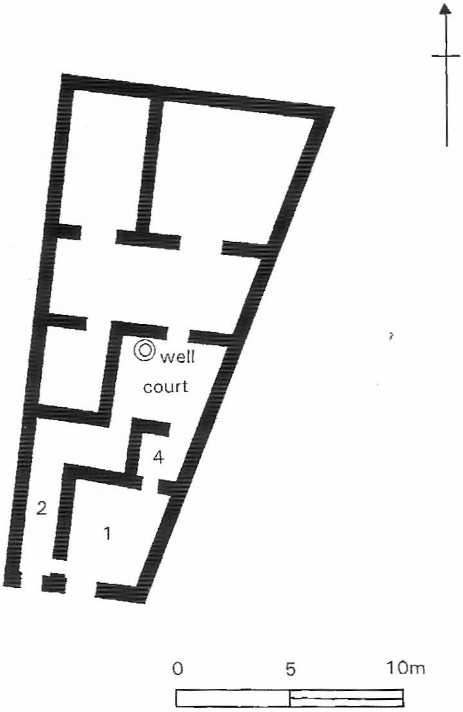


Figure 22. Plan of house B in Block I from near the Silen Gate, Thasos (period 4, phase I)

seen at Olynthos. The excavators report, however, that the wall dividing it from the court is preserved to a height of between 0.95 and 1.25 m (*ibid.*, 74) and it must therefore have been something more substantial than the low dividing wall marking the boundary between the court and the roofed portico, which is sometimes found in the peristyles of Roman houses. This in turn means that the function of the space must have been somewhat different from that of the *pastas*, and that the rooms beyond would have received little light or air from the court. The excavators suggest that room 5 served as a living- and working-room (*ibid.*, 111), although few finds are reported to give an indication of what kinds of activities took place there. In the later phases the importance of this space was increased by the creation of a new room in the eastern part of the court which was also entered from room 5.

Grandjean suggests that room I would have served as an *andron* (*ibid.*, 111f). The characteristic features of this kind of space such as mosaic floor, drain, decoration and raised border for couches are absent, and the position of the door only 0.5 m from the western wall would have left quite a narrow space for a couch. Nevertheless the large number of finds from here include a high proportion of black-glazed table wares (*ibid.*, 103–106, 114–118) which may indicate that the room was used for dining. The position of the room also gives some support to this argument: the construction of the entrance to the new room so that it led from room 5 rather than

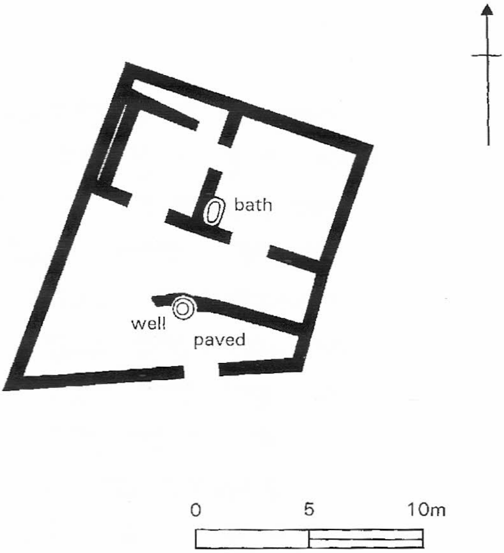


Figure 23. Plan of Thasos, Silen Gate, Block II (period 4, phase 2)

from the court implies a deliberate intention to separate these different areas, suggesting that they were used for different purposes.

The layout of this house suggests some similarities in patterns of activity to houses from Olynthos, with access restricted to a single street entrance. Nevertheless, interior space is segmented to a greater degree than has been seen elsewhere, with an inner area focused around the '*pastas*' and an outer area entered via the court. This would have meant that although visitors would have had to enter the court, if the room identified as an *andron* was used for entertaining then it would have been possible for visitors to avoid contact with family members in the interior of the house. The enclosed nature of the *pastas*-type area would not have given it the usual advantages of light and air. It is therefore unclear whether this space would have been used for domestic activities, and if it was not, where those activities would have been performed. This pattern of organisation would have made it less easy to oversee all activity within the house from any location. Despite these differences from the pattern of organisation established in Chapter 4, underlying principles seem to have been at work, suggesting similar priorities involving comparable control over contact between the household and the outside world, and between residents and visitors

The adjoining house, B, is more complicated in plan and more difficult to interpret. Unlike its neighbour, it was constructed over a substantial pre-existing structure. In the first phase many of the walls and doorways preserve the positions of features from this earlier construction, and although the locations of the rooms are similar to those of the neighbouring house, where the routes of communication between them can be reconstructed these seem to have been rather different. No evidence exists as to the location of the entrance from the street during the lifetime of the house. On practical grounds it seems likely that the door would have lain through the long, narrow passage 2, but the wall in this area is badly preserved and no threshold block remains (*ibid.*, 189–190). Grandjean restores a second street door through room 1 on the basis that this room is likely to have been a shop (*ibid.*, 190). A further door at the far end of room 1 would have led via a small antechamber (4) into the court. If all entrances are restored correctly, and were in use contemporaneously, such an arrangement would have meant that in contrast with the majority of houses of this period there would have been two completely independent routes of entry to this house, although the internal organisation would have meant that access to the different rooms would still have been controlled by the court.

In other respects house B resembles its neighbour more closely and this suggests a similar pattern of domestic social relationships. To the north of the court was a long thin chamber giving access to two rooms behind, and also to a room built out southwards into the court. Thus although the front area of the house may have been more accessible, and so less private, the isolation of the rear is maintained, with the long narrow room controlling access to other areas. Unlike house A, however, house B lacks any evidence of a staircase and may therefore have lacked an upper storey. In its second phase, sometime after the mid third century, the house was altered radically, with the two southernmost rooms being isolated from the remainder of the house and an entrance from the street knocked through on the east side, directly into the court, making this a much more public area and one which was potentially overlooked from the street when the entrance was in use.

A third structure, in block II to the east, has fewer rooms and hence a less complex plan (*ibid.*, 201–237) (Figure 23). The area was occupied successively by a bronze workshop in the late-sixth century (*ibid.*, 211–213) and then during the fifth and early fourth centuries by a group of one-roomed shops. In the mid-fourth century these were substantially reconstructed to form what has been interpreted as a house (*ibid.*, 230) consisting of a large southern court, with only two rooms to the north, both of which had an entrance from the court although they also communicated directly. Most of the furnishings seem to have been removed prior to its abandonment, and there is therefore little evidence to suggest how the two rooms and the court were used. In the second phase, during the last quarter of the fourth century, the eastern room contained a bath. A paved area lay just inside the single street door and traces of a wall may perhaps indicate that this was separated from the rest of the court in the final phase. This structure contains fewer rooms than the other two houses, and space was dominated by the open court. Such an arrangement is not paralleled elsewhere, but if this was a house, it does demonstrate a concern for separating the street door from the interior, as seen in other houses of this period. The size of the court suggests that this may have been the main area for domestic activity. As in the smaller houses at Olynthos and Athens the small number of different rooms would have left little opportunity for the separation of individuals or activities within the domestic context, and there is no direct evidence for the entertainment of guests here.

A single country house near the Cave of Pan at Vari in Attica (Jones *et al.* 1973) probably dates to the second half of the fourth century (Figure 24). Both the

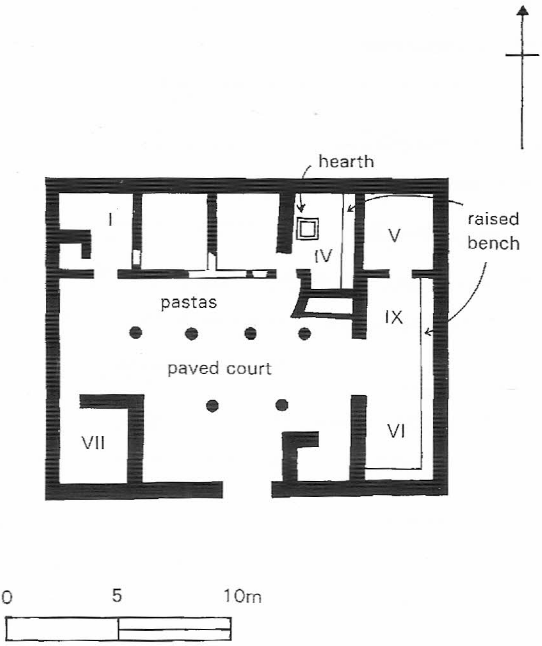


Figure 24. Plan of the Vari house, Attica

architecture and the finds were recorded, although the provenances of the various objects are not listed by room in the publication, so that it is not possible to use the finds as a guide to room function beyond the comments made by the excavators themselves. The excavators comment that the total amount of material recovered was relatively small, and they suggest that this should be taken as an indication that the site was occupied only for a short period (*ibid.*, 415), although there do seem to have been some modifications of the architecture during that time.

In terms of its physical organisation, this house bears a strong resemblance to the earlier rural house from near the Dema wall in Attica, discussed above. It covers a ground area of approximately 13 × 18 m², including a large paved court which lay to the centre and south of the building. There was only a single entrance, which was at the south and led directly into the court (*ibid.*, 369). The majority of the rooms lay to the north, and there are traces of column bases which suggest that a portico originally sheltered the entrances of the rooms on the north and east sides, in the same manner as the *pastas* at Olynthos (*ibid.* 431). The northern rooms include a number of stone-built features which offer clues as to the activities carried out in them. The westernmost, room I, contained a structure which the excavators suggest may have been a cupboard (*ibid.* 434) and this parallels the rubble features found in the Olynthian *oikos* which Robinson and Graham interpreted as fulfilling a similar function (Robinson and Graham 1938, 197–198). Also in room I there were traces of burning, suggesting the presence of a hearth or brazier, which may have been used either for cooking or simply for heat.

Room IV seems to have contained a permanent fixed hearth, and may have served a similar purpose to the Olynthian *oikos*. A more unusual feature is the stone bench which ran along the eastern wall and was perhaps used as a base for seats or couches (Jones *et al.* 1973, 435), although the presence of the hearth, and the lack of any evidence of decoration, make the room rather different in character from the *andrones* where such features are normally found. A similar bench also runs along two sides of the south-east room, room VI, and continues into room IX to the north. The excavators observe that this is too narrow to have served as the base for a couch, but may have been used as a seat or a stand (*ibid.*, 436). Spatial organisation in this part of the house is unusual, with rooms IX and VI sharing a broad opening onto the court, and room IX serving as an anteroom to room V, which, because of this arrangement, must have been the most private room in the house. There is nothing in the architecture or finds to suggest how it was used.

A distinctive feature noted by the excavators is the solid construction of room VII, which stands in isolation at the south-west corner of the house. It seems possible that this was the basis for a tower or *pyrgos* rising to two or more storeys, such as is mentioned in the Delian leases discussed in Chapter 2 and paralleled at a variety of other rural sites, many of which no longer preserve the remainder of the house of which they were once part.[5]

In sum, the Vari house follows a plan similar to many of the urban houses of this date, suggesting that some aspects of domestic social relations may have been similar. Nevertheless, intercommunications between some of the rooms would have made the supervision of movement around the house from a single location more difficult, and although access to the house could apparently be gained only from a single entrance, that entrance is not screened from the rest of the house. These features suggest some relaxation of the control over social interaction suggested elsewhere, and this may be due to the rural setting, The relatively large size of the court and presence of a tower may also be adaptations to its location.

A further rural house, 'la ferme aux jambages de granit' (Brunet 1987; Brunet 1988; Brunet 1989; Brunet 1996), on the island of Delos, is more complex in layout (Figure 25). The house was occupied over a long period which lasted from the Classical era to the first century BC (Brunet 1987, 644) and additional roofed spaces seem to have been added through time. In its basic, early form it is similar to the structures already discussed, with a large set of rooms to the north of the building and a court to the south; a *pastas* was added in a second phase of construction, suggesting a desire to provide shelter for the entrances of the rooms opening onto this area of the court, and possibly also a location for domestic activities. In its final phase, however, it became substantially different, with the roofed area making up a large proportion of the total, and the organisation of the rooms becoming more complex, with a large number of internal divisions separating the north and south of the structure, and the court area playing only a minor role in communication around the house (Pariente 1990, 812). Although the implications of these phases of organisation for social relationships cannot be interpreted in detail without further information, they do suggest considerable change in patterns of use over the time the house was occupied,

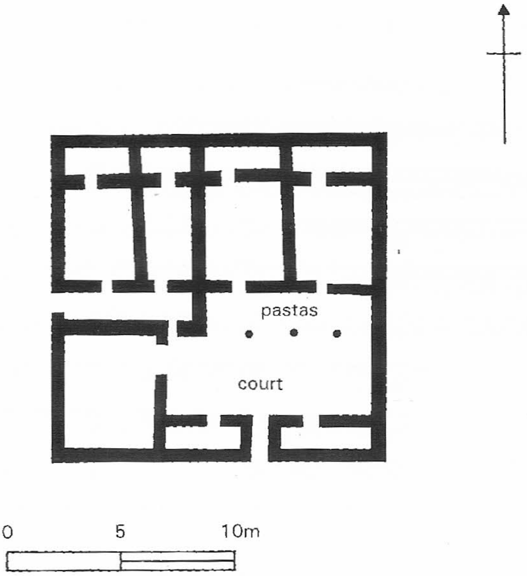


Figure 25. Plan of the *ferme aux jambages de granit*, Delos

possibly involving the adaptation of a single-entrance courtyard-type structure to a different and more complex pattern of activity.

A variation on the pattern of spatial organisation discussed so far is found in houses from the city of Halieis in the Argolid,[6] which date from the fourth century (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 334–5). These are traditionally classified as *prostas* houses, although that classification is not unproblematic since there are also porticoes in some of the houses which resemble the *pastas* more closely (Ault 1994, 226–230). Halieis was laid out on a rough grid, although the street plan does not run exactly north–south/east–west (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 339). A number of houses were exposed in areas 6 and 7 during excavation of the lower town, and belong to the final two phases of occupation, during the early and late fourth century. The orientation of the trenches, which cut across the underlying street grid at an angle, means that the number of complete house plans is limited (*ibid.*, Figure 2), although house 7 and house A were totally excavated and offer a basis for discussing the organisation of domestic space at the site.

House 7 is one of the largest houses revealed, covering around 250 m² in area[7] (Figure 26). It was entered through a single street entrance to the south-west, which took the form of a porch or *prothyron,* and may have incorporated both a single pedestrian doorway and a double door giving access to wheeled traffic (Ault 1994, 83). The *prothyron* is a feature common to the entrances of all the houses excavated at the site (*ibid.*; Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 344, note 16). The south-eastern area of the house was taken up by an open court, while the main rooms lay to the north-west, north and east. Ault's analysis shows that the court contained a large quantity of different kinds of artefacts (particularly pottery) which suggests that it played a major

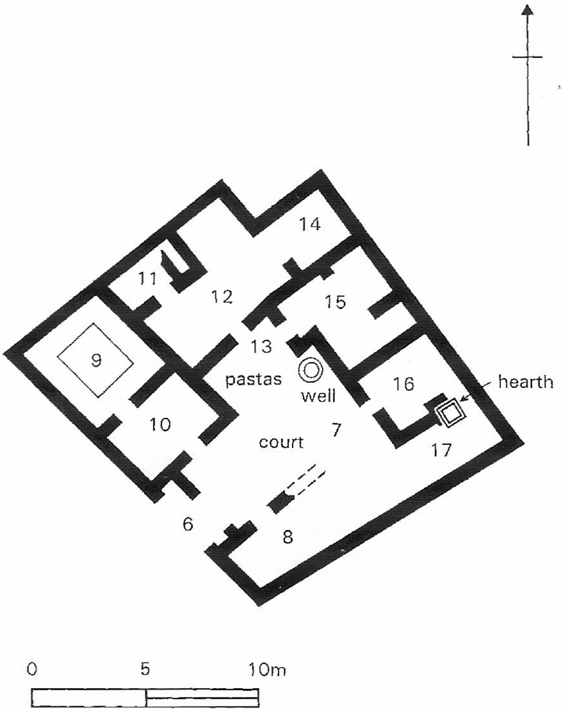


Figure 26. Plan of house 7, Halieis

role in domestic activity (Ault 1994, 102f). Its southern area was occupied by an ephemeral structure (room 8) which was enclosed by walls along three sides. It is unclear whether this would have been an open porch or whether it was enclosed on the fourth side by a wall of lighter construction which has not survived (Ault 1994, 87). Its use is also uncertain. To the east of the court lay two areas (16 and 17) which were only partially separate from each other and which shared a stone-built hearth. Large amounts of household pottery came from here, suggesting that this was a cooking area (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 351; Ault 1994, 98f, 104f). The easternmost room (17), which may have been open along one side, showed traces of a plaster floor, a feature which in house D is linked with a pressing complex (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 350), and at other sites with bathing facilities. The well situated nearby in the court may have provided water associated with the activities which took place here.

The main section of house 7 is divided into two: just inside the street door was an *andron* (9) which is clearly identifiable by its cement floor, raised border, anteroom, and walls decorated with red plaster (Ault 1994, 88). The anteroom was entered directly from the court, and the doors of the *andron* and anteroom are not aligned which would have meant that there were no lines of sight between the occupants and the court (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 351f). A second door led from the court into the remainder of the rooms. The organisation of space in this block is relatively complex: an outer area with a broad entrance onto the court, which Ault likens to a *pastas* (Ault

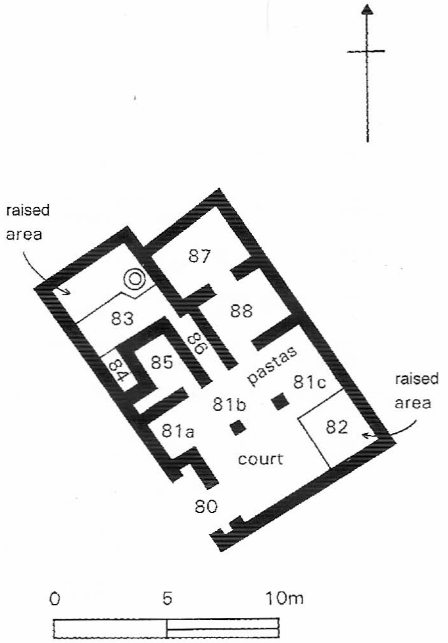


Figure 27. Plan of house A, Halieis

1994, 91), gives onto two separate suites. Ault suggests that the variety of pottery found in the large outer room to the west indicates that this may have been used for dining and for other household activities (*ibid.*, 105). This living space was probably supplemented by further rooms in an upper storey spanning the main northern block (*ibid.*, 100f). In short, house 7 divides spatially into a number of distinct sections which comprise the *andron* and anteroom, the court and associated cooking area, the neighbouring complexes of interior living rooms, and the upper storey.

In comparison with house 7, house A is relatively small, covering an area of only 120 m^2 (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 349). Like house 7, house A was entered via a porch or *prothyron* (Figure 27), which effectively separated the interior of the house from the street outside, and wheel ruts worn on the threshold block show that, again, wheeled as well as pedestrian traffic was admitted (*ibid.*, 347). Beyond the *prothyron* lay a court. A square cement platform to one side (82) may have been the foundation for some sort of working area (*ibid.*), or, as Ault suggests, for something more substantial, perhaps forming the base of a *pyrgos* of the type found at Kolophon (Ault 1994, 117–8; see Holland 1944, 129f). On the west side of the court is a portico (81) where Ault's work shows that relatively numerous finds of cooking pottery and storageware were made, suggesting that it was used for storing and preparing food (Ault 1994, 128). The main rooms of the house lay beyond in two adjacent suites. The north-western suite comprises a living area and cooking/washing complex (83 and 84) (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 347; Ault 1994, 119–124, 128–129). To the north-east are a paved room with a well (88), and a second room with coloured wall plaster decoration to the rear, which, together with the fineware table vessels found here (*ibid.*, 126, 129), suggests that the uses of this room included dining. Although the excavators interpret the house as a single-storey structure (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 347), Ault suggests that there may in fact have been an upper storey reached via a staircase in the portico (Ault 1994, 116). In terms of communication between different areas, the court seems to have formed a key connection, and on the basis of the number and variety of finds it also seems to have served for a range of household activities (*ibid.*, 128f). As at Olynthos, this pattern of usage seems to extend into the portico area (*ibid.*, 127–129).

Despite the relatively complex organisation of space in these two houses, and the apparent differences between them, many aspects of their layout are familiar from other examples already discussed. Characteristic *andrones* are found here and in two other houses (in area 5 (Boyd and Rudolph 1978, 345) and house B (*ibid.*, 349)). In all cases the *andron* is positioned close to the street door, and in two instances where the walls are well enough preserved to allow the identification of doorways, they seem to have been reached only via the court, even though alternative entrances would have been possible either from outside the house or (in the case of house C) from the entrance area. Other characteristics of spatial organisation are also familiar from sites already discussed: in addition to the use of the court–*pastas* area for a variety of purposes, cooking and washing facilities are combined (as they frequently are at Olynthos) in three instances, house B (*ibid.*, 349) and houses A and E (Ault 1994, 108–130 and 181–208). In house A the creation of separate suites of rooms off the portico allows further separation of activities than in a design in which all of the rooms radiate from the court. This pattern of segmentation is also seen in a variety of the houses discussed below.

The parallels between the Halieis houses and those discussed in Chapter 4 suggest that patterns of activity were also similar to those outlined above in relation to Olynthos: social priorities seem to have been operating which allowed, on the one hand, the preservation of the house as a private environment, whilst on the other it provided facilities for entertaining guests which brought them through the court, displaying the heart of the household. Thus, although architecturally the design of the porticoes in these houses means that some at least should perhaps be identified as *prostas* rather than *pastas* houses, the organisation of activities within shows strong similarities in use to that of many of the *pastas*-type houses already discussed.

Further examples of the *prostas* type of house have been found at Abdera in Thrace (Figure 28). These structures vary in date, but the area as a whole was laid out during the fourth century (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 183). The architecture is well preserved, incorporating walls up to a metre high (*ibid.*, 184), although relatively little information is yet available on the architectural detail of individual structures. Hoepfner and Schwandner's reconstruction (*ibid.*, Fig. 176) indicates a quadruple row of houses, the inner ones being reached via a corridor through the outer row (similar to their reconstruction of the *insulae* at Piraeus – *ibid.*, Figure 31).

Each house covered a ground area of about 200 m^2 (*ibid.*, 185), and the main part of the house was approached via the *prostas*. In some instances facilities for enter-

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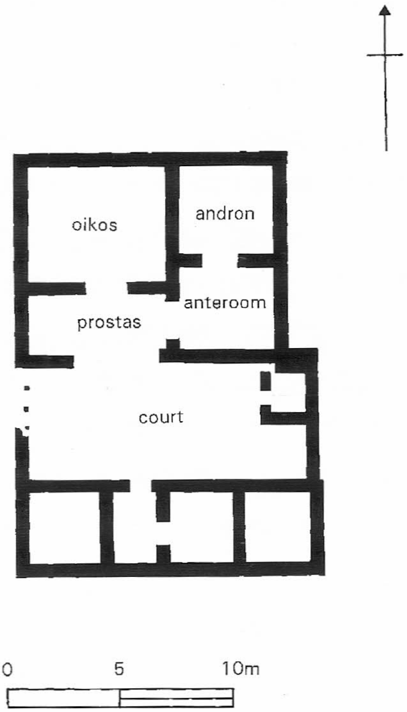

Figure 28. Plan of house C, Abdera

taining are clearly present, with the main range of rooms including a small, elaborate *andron* which had its own anteroom (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 185) and which was occasionally provided with a mosaic floor (for example, Romiopoulou 1964, 376). This *andron* complex together with a larger squareish room, which Hoepfner and Schwandner identify as an *oikos*, lay to the north of a small court. A range of smaller rooms found to the south of the court are mostly entered separately from the court itself. As at Dystos, the court effectively divides these houses into two sections. Although the presence of the *andron* to the north identifies this as an area where guests would have been entertained, the functions of the remaining spaces are more difficult to determine. There is no evidence that any attempt was made to screen the court from the street door. Once inside, however, lines of sight between the *andron* and the other rooms were blocked by the positioning of the entrance of the anteroom at right-angles to that of the *andron* itself. This would have meant that once guests were inside the dining room, they would have been secluded from domestic activities even if tasks were being pursued in the court. Thus, these houses exhibit some of the priorities seen at Olynthos in the way in which provision is made for entertaining visitors; here, however, space is segmented so that the houses fall into two sections, with the outer section providing a less private environment, whilst the inner section offered more privacy (a pattern which is similar to houses A and B at Thasos). Space in the northern area is further divided into two separate areas, both reached through the *prostas*, in a pattern which parallels the segmentation of space seen in Halieis house A.

To summarise the patterns in the fifth- and fourth-century houses discussed so far: despite the use of the terms *prostas* and *pastas* and the presence of some houses which apparently lack a portico or have a full peristyle, there are in fact a number of basic similarities in the way in which space was organised, and these correspond to many of the features of the houses found at Olynthos. For ease of reference, these can be referred to as single-entrance, courtyard houses. The characteristics of this type include the use of a broadly centripetal plan comprising only a single entrance and a central open space, usually with adjacent colonnade, probably used for domestic activities. Many also include a decorated dining room. Various aspects of the layout seem to provide for some privacy from the street outside. While there are differences in the degree to which the houses are segmented, with a few such as those at Thasos and Abdera showing a division between an inner and an outer area, these differences cross-cut the traditional *prostas*/*pastas* typology.

Houses of Herdraum *type*

A slightly different form of spatial organisation is found at two neighbouring sites in Epirus, north-west Greece. These are the type-sites for the *Herdraumhaus* identified by Hoepfner and Schwandner (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 146–150). At Kassope, a number of excavated houses are integrated into an orthogonal street grid (Dakaris 1952, 329; Dakaris 1971, 118 and Figure 40; Dakaris 1989, 17) and date back to the foundation of the city in the fourth century (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 115f). The city survived a phase of rebuilding in the third century, perhaps due to earthquake damage (Dakaris 1989, 41) and underwent subsequent alterations until a final abandonment in the first century, when the nearby city of Nikopolis was founded (Dakaris 1952 358). The walls were constructed of stone to a height of at least one metre, and are therefore still well preserved, but they represent the final occupation phase which followed the destruction of the city by the Romans in 167 BC (Dakaris 1982, 368–369). Despite this complex building history, the different phases evident from houses 1, 3 and 5 (Dakaris 1989, 40; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 156–159) suggest that they remained substantially the same in plan, although there may have been changes to doorways and some subdivision of rooms. The earliest level of house 5 offers a picture of the way in which domestic space was organised during the primary, fourth century, phase of occupation (Figure 29). Details of the objects found in different rooms have not been published, but Hoepfner and Schwandner make some statements about the uses of different rooms, which, although their reasons are not always clear, offer a basis for discussion.

House 5 was constructed during the mid-fourth century. Like the other excavated examples it forms part of a larger *insula* of houses constructed in double rows, divided by a narrow alley and sharing party walls. It occupies the standard plot of land with an area of 225 m^2 (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 146). House 5 is entered through a single street door on its western side, which leads directly into a small open court with no trace of any kind of colonnade or *pastas* structure.[8] The entrances to three

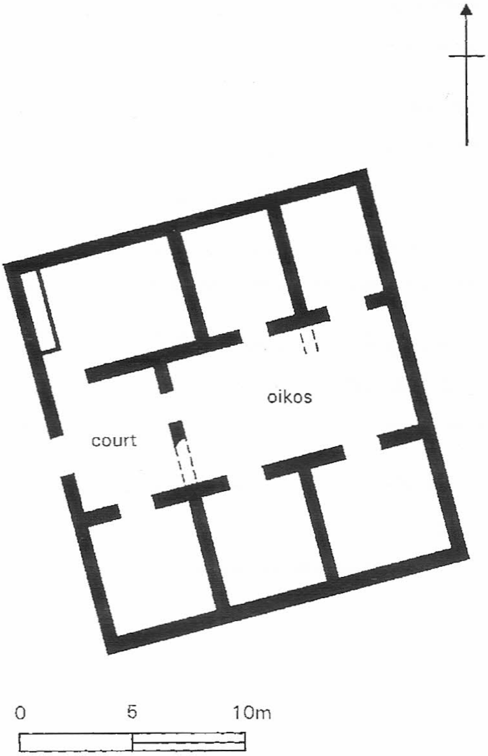

Figure 29. Plan of house 5, Kassope (phase 1)

different areas lead off the court: to the right of the street door lies a room which the excavators interpret as an *andron*. Full details are not yet available about the furnishing of the individual houses, but on the site as a whole such rooms were furnished with coloured plaster walls, mosaic floors, and carved mullions for the windows (*ibid.*, 156). Opposite lay an area which Hoepfner and Schwandner identify as stables (*ibid.*, Figure 151). The remainder of the house was entered through a door facing the street door but not aligned with it, so that the view into this part of the house would have been restricted even when all the doors were open. Inside lay a large space identified by Hoepfner and Schwandner as an *oikos* (*ibid.*, Figure 151), which gave access, directly or indirectly, to five more rooms.

Two further houses, house 1 and house 3, whose fourth century phases have also been reconstructed (*ibid.*, Figure 155), had similar patterns of spatial organisation, including an *andron* and other outer room(s) entered via the court, with additional rooms reached from a large indoor space. In the case of house 1, entrances have been reconstructed between the outer room reached via the court, and the inner rooms accessed through the *oikos*, although the evidence for this reconstruction is unclear. In both houses Hoepfner and Schwandner reconstruct staircases leading to an upper storey from the *oikos* (*ibid.*).

Together, this evidence presents a fairly consistent picture of the organisation of space. Unlike the houses already discussed above, the court is comparatively small and this seems to have been compensated for by a larger roofed area, which included a sizeable '*oikos*'. In the pre-Roman levels the use of a peristyle in the court appears not to have been widespread (Dakaris 1989, 53), supporting the idea that it was the main inner room rather than the court which served as the main *locus* for household activity. In addition, this area seems also to have taken on some of the role of a linking space leading to other rooms. Thus the concern for privacy seen elsewhere also seems to have been important here, and it seems that domestic activity was probably focused around the larger inner area, while guests were entertained in the outer section. This segmentation of space is similar to that seen at Thasos and Abdera, and would have had a similar effect, namely that the privacy of the inner area of the house was increased, although this would have made monitoring activity throughout the whole house from a single location difficult.

A similar pattern of internal organisation is found at the nearby site of Ammotopos, where exceptionally well-preserved stone walls stand to several metres (Dakaris *et al.* 1976, 433) and demarcate parts of another city based on a rectilinear street plan (*ibid.*, 432f; Dakaris 1986, 112). Occupation of the houses is likely to have lasted for some two hundred years, from their construction in the late fourth to early third century BC until the destruction of the settlement in the second century (Dakaris *et al.* 1976, 433; Dakaris 1986, 111, 117–119). Of the two houses which have been excavated, details of one, known as House 1, have been published (Dakaris *et al.* 1976, 434; Dakaris 1986, 119–133; Dakaris 1989, 41–49; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 147–150) (Figure 30).

The superstructure of this house is of stone up to roof height and the remarkable state of preservation means that it offers an unusually vivid picture of a three-dimensional living environment. The house occupied a building plot with an area of 290 m² (Dakaris 1986, 120), although the available living space would have been increased by the extensive upper storey, whose presence can be established not only through the presence of two stone-built staircases, but also through the sockets for wooden beams supporting the first floor, which are still visible in the stone walls. In its first phase the house was entered via a single entrance and a corridor which turned a right-angled bend into a small central court. Opposite the entrance lay a room whose facade consisted of a row of pillars which allowed light and air into the interior, and which, from the remains of household wares and food residues found there, seems to have been used as a cooking area (*ibid.*, 121). To the right of the outside door, a room with a raised stone border and off-centre doorway, is interpreted as an *andron* which could have accommodated seven couches (*ibid.*, 121–122, 127). The remainder of the rooms lay to the south via a portico. As at Kassope, the principal room, which the excavators term the *Herdraum* or hearth-room, is a large space with a big central hearth. This gives access not only to two smaller rooms but also to a large semi-subterranean storage room, which, together with the eastern areas a, b and c, is thought to have been the basis for an upper storey, reached from a staircase in the hearth-room itself (Dakaris 1989, 43). These eastern rooms seem originally to

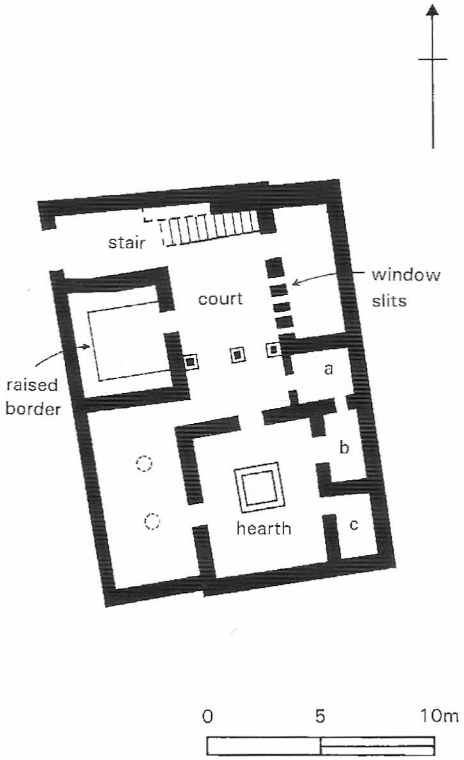

Figure 30. Plan of house 1, Ammotopos

have opened from the hearth-room alone, and traces of waterproof plaster in room b suggest that it was a bathroom (Dakaris 1986, 124).

An interesting feature which can be examined in detail because of the good preservation of this structure is the position and size of the windows. In addition to the light- or smoke-vents in the wall between the court and the cooking area, mentioned above, there are also small windows facing onto the street outside. Using the threshold blocks as a guide to the original height of the floor, these are above head-height close to the ceiling. Their position would have allowed some light to pass into the rooms without compromising the privacy of the occupants, who could not have been overlooked from the street outside. More importantly, perhaps, the openings provided ventilation, and their effectiveness was increased by their shape, which tapered, broadening from exterior to interior (*ibid.*, 121).

Overall, then, the *Herdraum* house represents a slightly different pattern of organisation from the customary courtyard type: the court is reduced in size while the interior includes an unusually large room with a hearth, which may have been used for a range of household activities. As at Kassope, this pattern effectively divides the house into two sections, here an outer area comprising the court, dining room and storage rooms, and an inner area which includes the room with the hearth and

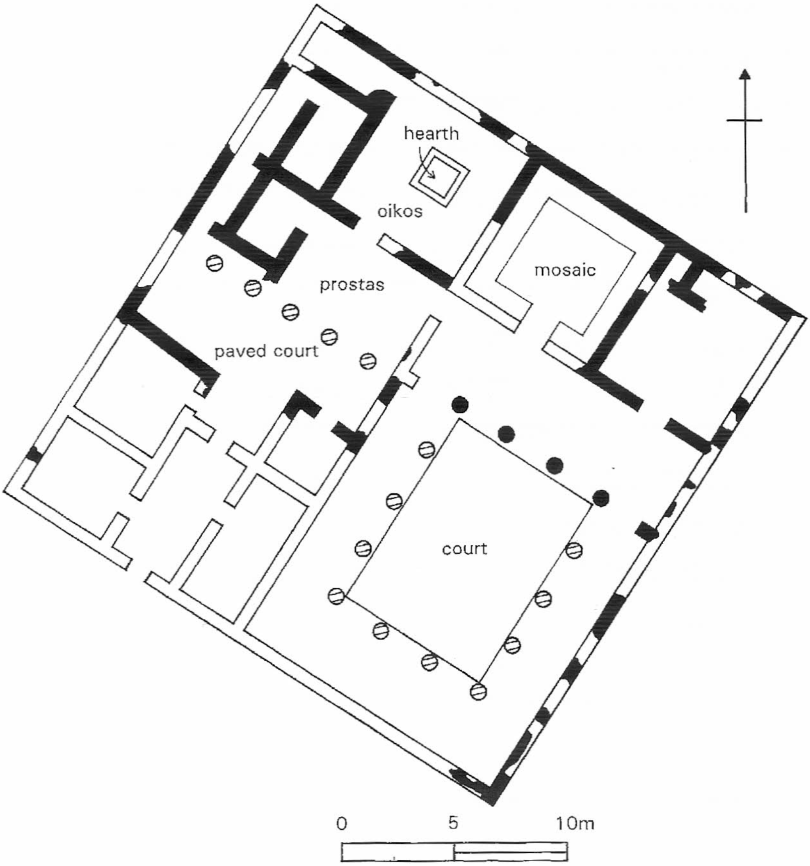

Figure 31. Plan of the house at Maroneia

various subsidiary chambers. This arrangement would have meant that although access to the house was limited, as in the *pastas* and *prostas* structures, it would have been more difficult to oversee activity in all areas from a single location since the court would have played a less dominant role in communication around the house.

Houses of double-courtyard type

A similarly segmented pattern of spatial organisation is found in a single fourth century house excavated at Maroneia in Thrace (Pentazos 1978; Pentazos 1980; Karadedos 1990; Lavas and Karadedos 1991) (Figure 31). This structure covers an area of 640 m^2. Excavation is incomplete in the south-west and the Classical remains are disturbed by a later construction of Byzantine date (Karadedos 1990, 273) so that some details are missing. Nevertheless, the organisation of space can be reconstructed in most areas from the limestone footings of the original walls, which in places are preserved to a maximum height of nearly 0.5 m (Pentazos 1978, 75). The striking feature of this house is that interior space is divided into two equal sections via a wall which runs down the centre. Each half contains an open court, and although the extent and nature of any rooms in the western area can no longer be determined, a substantial block of rooms at the eastern end clearly provided accommodation for some of the major activities of the household.

In the eastern half of the house lay a peristyle (Karadedos 1990, 280f), of which one row of column bases remains, marking a broad colonnaded porch which sheltered the entrances to two large square rooms lying side by side. One of these was clearly an *andron* as it has the characteristic mosaic floor and raised border (*ibid.*, 273f). Two doors in the peristyle give access to the western half of the house (*ibid.*, 279). A single main room in this area has the same dimensions as the *andron*, but the presence of a large marble hearth in the centre of the floor suggests that this was a living room, and the identification is supported by the wide range of domestic pottery found here, which includes part of a clay *perirrhanterion*, *amphorae*, plates, *hydriai* and *kraters* (*ibid.*, 275f). Access from the court to this room lay through a deep porch or *prostas*, whilst the five other small rooms in this block were reached variously through the *oikos*, porch and court.

The organisation of this house closely parallels the description of Greek houses offered by Vitruvius (*On Architecture* 7), and the excavators identify the two halves as Vitruvius' *andronitis* and *gunaikonitis* (Karadedos 1990, 279; Lavas and Karadedos 1991, 140). It is, however, profitable to look at the nature of the activities which seem to have been undertaken in each area and at the architectural context for the division of space. The house is essentially divided into three areas: the first comprises the street door and lobby, which give access to rooms on either side. Beyond lies an open court, and this gives access to the complex of rooms to the north, and further, to the decorated dining room and peristyle to the east. The architectural details of the connection between the two areas need further exploration, and because of the ruinous state of the southern part of the house it is uncertain whether there would have been additional entrances to the house or routes of communication between the east and west parts. It is therefore difficult to speculate about the effect that this pattern of organisation would have had on social relations except to say that, unlike many other, single-courtyard, houses, this segmented plan would have provided a stronger degree of separation between visitors and those performing domestic chores, and this would have made it more difficult to supervise activities in the house as a whole from a single location. In short, the house represents an extension of the trend towards segmentation of the domestic environment seen in the *Herdraum* house and, occasionally, in other single courtyard houses, but it also provides an outdoor working area for domestic chores, as well as interior apartments which are beyond the area which a guest entering to reach the *andron* might see. The ruinous state of the southern area of the house obscures the pattern of entrances, but the excavators reconstruct a single street door for the whole house, leading off the plainer court which housed the domestic activities. As will become apparent below, if this reconstruction is correct, it is atypical of the pattern of access for houses of this type.

The Maroneia house is paralleled by further fourth-century structures from Eret-

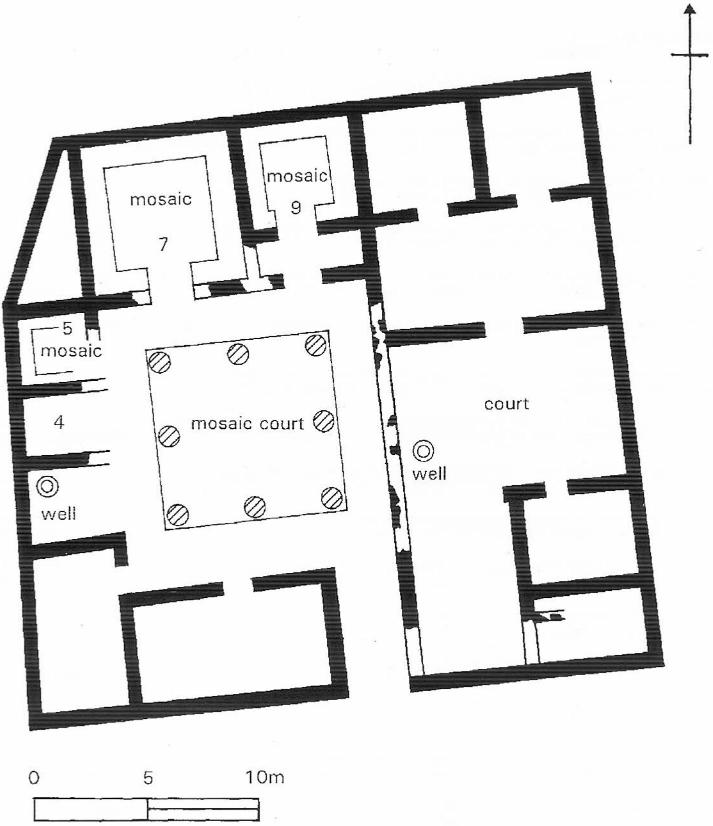

Figure 32. Plan of the house of the mosaics, Eretria

ria (Figures 32–34). Excavation in two separate areas has revealed houses which superficially look quite different: in the eastern area lies one complete house, the House of the Mosaics, together with the disturbed remains of two others, the South House and the East House (Ducrey and Metzger 1979; Ducrey *et al.* 1993, *passim*). Excavation in an area some 300 m to the west has uncovered a much larger area comprising four larger structures.

The House of the Mosaics was constructed in the early fourth century and occupied for around one hundred years (Ducrey and Metzger 1979, 4; Ducrey *et al.* 1993, 177). The house probably had only a single storey (*ibid.*, 41–42) and covers an area of around 625 m² (*ibid.*, 31). The organisation of space is regular in appearance, with the walls abutting at approximately ninety degrees except where the building is cut by a road at the north-west corner. The house is entered from the south via a corridor which leads into a central peristyle court. To the north lie rooms 7 and 9, which can both confidently be identified as *andrones* as each is furnished with the characteristic raised bench for couches. Room 9, which had space for seven couches, is approached via a small anteroom, and both this and the *andron* itself are decorated with elaborate mosaic floors. The doorway between the two was flanked with

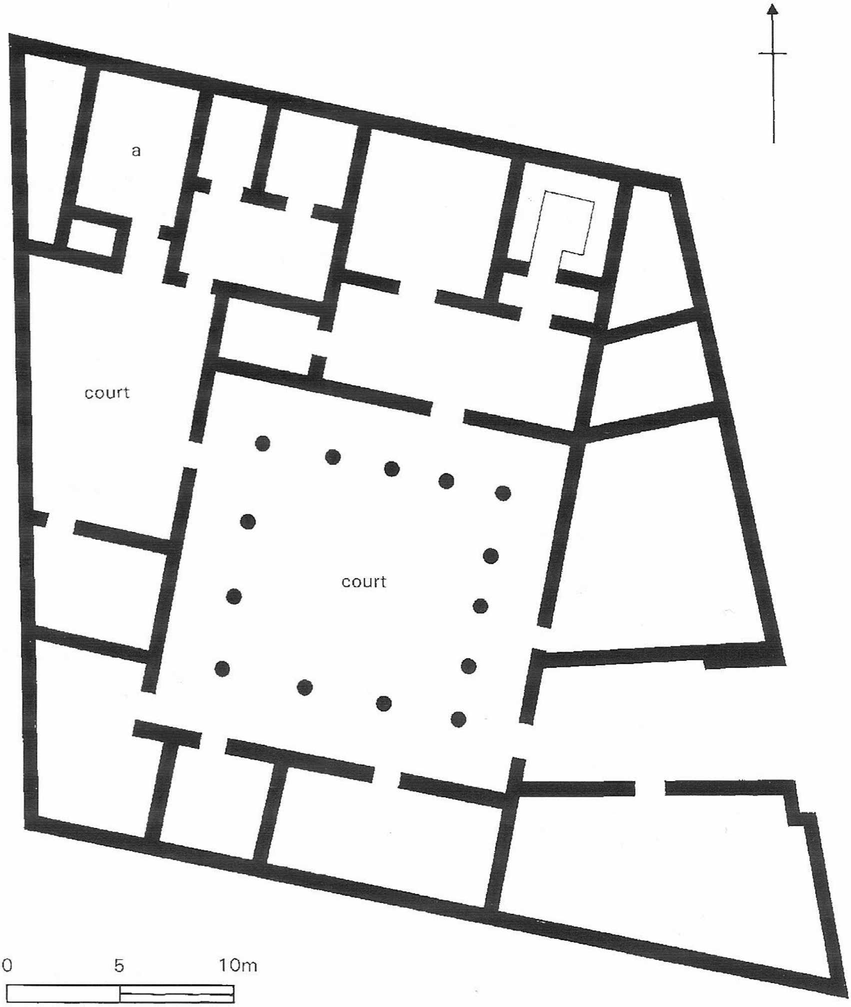

Figure 33. Plan of house II, Eretria

elaborate columns, and these seem to have supported the roof in place of a solid wall (Reber 1989a, 6–7; Ducrey *et al.* 1993, 47, 58–61).

Room 7 is larger, with space to accommodate 11 couches, and no anteroom is present. Although the floor was disturbed by a later tomb and it is impossible to tell whether the centre was once decorated with a mosaic (Ducrey *et al.*, 1993, 37f), the room was clearly decorated with terracottas and had a window with an elaborately carved stone central mullion (*ibid.*, 47, 61–63).

Room 5, built into the row of small rooms which occupied the western side of the peristyle, has been identified as a third *andron*. Again, there was no anteroom, and the position of the doorway can only be estimated from the likely organisation of the couches (*ibid.*, 45), but the room can be identified on the basis of the mosaic floor and the undecorated border around the mosaic, where there is space for three couches

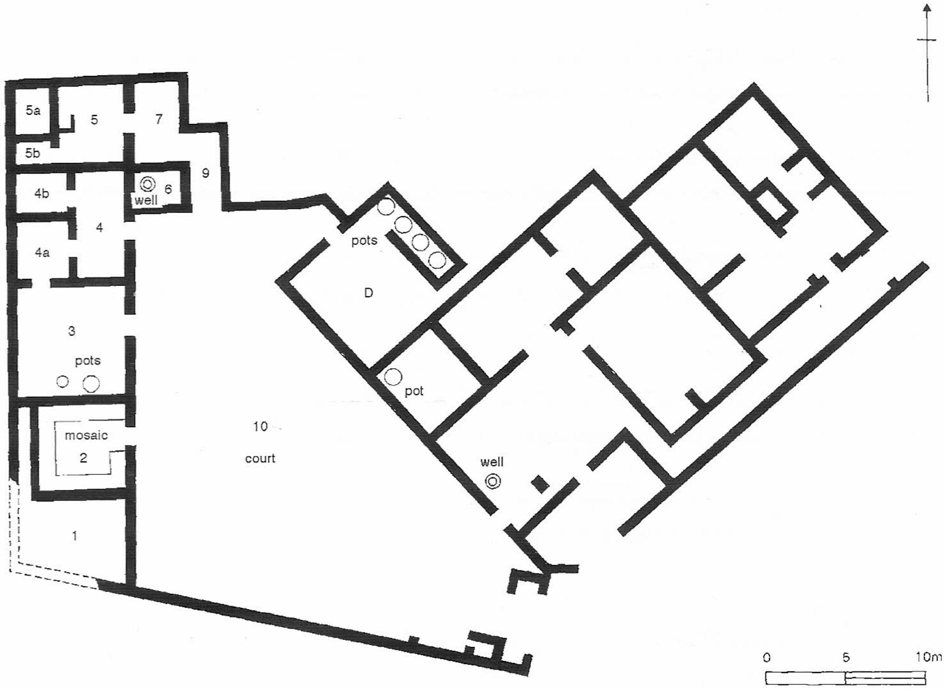

Figure 34. Plan of house IV, Eretria

(*ibid.*,). The small room (4) next door has been interpreted as a cloakroom for guests, on the grounds that its well-made pebble floor and lead relief suggest that visitors would have seen the room, but that a marble table and an emplacement for a *pithos* or amphora prevent it from being used as an *andron* (*ibid.*, 44). In the absence of any obvious sanitary facilities elsewhere in the house, this room perhaps provided a space where guests could relieve themselves using a chamberpot, as seems to have been a custom in the Roman world (Scobie 1986, 410). A ready water supply for washing would have been available from the neighbouring room which contained a well-head.

The peristyle and these adjoining rooms were separated from the eastern part of the house by a wall which ran the length of the court. Originally there must have been at least one communicating door between the two somewhere in the central or southern stretch of wall (as at Maroneia), but these sections are now too ruinous to preserve its exact location (Ducrey *et al.* 1993, 40). Space in the eastern half was organised around a second open area, which shows few signs of having been paved and is interpreted by the excavators as a garden (Ducrey 1991, 27; Ducrey *et al.*, 1993, 47). Although the decoration here is less elaborate than that to the west, the excavators do note the presence of coloured wall-plaster in the two northernmost apartments, and of undecorated pebble floors in four of the six rooms. The uses of the individual spaces are difficult to determine until full publication of all the objects found in them. Nonetheless, it is likely that they housed service facilities such as a cooking area, and there was a separate water supply provided by a well in the garden.

To the north of the garden lay a suite of two square rooms lying side by side, which are entered through a rectangular antechamber. This arrangement is also found at a range of other settlements and Krause suggests that the anteroom may have functioned as a *pastas* (Krause 1977, 167). It is possible that the surviving foundation formed the basis for a columned portico like the *pastas* at Olynthos, but the space itself was much wider. Alternatively, the base represents the foundation of a solid wall, like that in house Ia at Thasos, and the interior represented an outer room and two rather dark, airless inner rooms.

This house continues the trend towards the segmentation of space and the division of domestic from public areas. The selection of different decorated rooms for entertaining suggests that this was an important and perhaps frequent activity. The open arrangement of *andron* 7 would have meant that if the door were open, the occupants of the dining room would have been able to look out into the court, but since the domestic area lay in the eastern section, there would be no prospect of overlooking members of the family carrying out household chores. This suggests a familiar concern for control over the domestic sphere, which is also seen in the fact that the house has only a single entrance, and that the inner court or garden had to be approached via the peristyle. The implications of this spatial division in terms of control over activity in the inner area are unclear because so little is known about the nature of the division between the two.

Four houses from the western hill area of the same site are organised in a similar way and suggest comparable patterns of behaviour. All were occupied for a longer period of time, being built in the first half of the fourth century, at around the same time as the house of the mosaics, but continuing in occupation, with at least one substantial phase of reconstruction, until the first century BC (*ibid.*, 164). All are irregular in shape and vary in size. Nevertheless, there are some similarities between them in the organisation of internal space. As examples, houses II and IV are discussed here.

The southernmost house (excavators' house II, Krause's house 4) is large in terms of both its area, which was over 1,000 m^2,[9] and the number of rooms it contained (Figure 33), yet it is interpreted as having represented the home of a single family (Auberson and Schefold 1973, 122), and there seems no good reason to believe otherwise. A single entrance leads from the east into a large peristyle court, which forms the focus for a number of rooms. The plan is relatively complicated, and although all the rooms are ultimately entered via the court, many communicate with each other. This is especially true of the northern area which contains a triple room complex consisting of a large rectangular room and behind it to the east an anteroom and seven-couch *andron*. A second open space lies to the west of the peristyle (*ibid.*, 121), and depending on the original height of the dividing wall which separates them, sight-lines between this and the peristyle may have been blocked. Amongst the rooms leading off the second court the excavators identify a kitchen (a) by its stone hearth (Reber 1989b, 110). The complex to the east, also entered via this secondary court, mirrors the shape of the neighbouring *andron* complex which was entered by the peristyle, although its role is unclear.

Despite the fact that the uses of individual rooms cannot be assessed in detail, the existing evidence suggests that, as with the house of the mosaics, this house is characterised by a basic division between a decorated display area, which includes an *andron*, and a more functional area in which household tasks are likely to have been carried out. Each is organised around its own courtyard space, and again, the outer, more public, court seems to have controlled access to the inner one. It therefore seems that activity within each section would have operated more or less independently, since the location of the two courts would have made it difficult to oversee both simultaneously.

More detailed information is available about House IV (renumbered house 3 by Krause: Krause 1977, Figure 1), which has recently undergone further investigation. The house consists of two sections constructed at different dates (Figure 34). The western section, which was constructed in the first half of the fourth century and later extended (Reber 1990, 114; Reber 1991, 136), had an area of over 700 m², although only about 250 m² of this was roofed, with the remainder given over to a large open court.[10] The eastern section covered about the same area, but was mainly roofed. It began as an independent house in the early fourth century and was taken over by its neighbour in the early third century (Reber 1993, 127).

These two halves represent spatially discrete units, and investigation of the activities which took place within them suggests that they were also functionally very different. The eastern section was entered via a single monumental entrance located in the south-east corner. Ruts on the threshold blocks show that wheeled traffic was brought into the court (Reber 1990, 111). Rooms ranged along the western side of the court are interpreted by the excavators as having had a variety of different functions (*ibid.*, 114), although their grounds are not made explicit. In room 2 a mosaic floor, off-centre doorway and raised border which would have accommodated seven couches indicate that this was an *andron* (Schefold 1974, 72). The large neighbouring room, 3, contained two *pithoi* (*ibid.*) indicating that, in a late phase at least, this room was used for storage. Finally, the excavators interpret the small complex of rooms at the northern end of the house as a cooking and bathing complex (Reber 1990, 114). Although it is difficult to be specific about the possible uses of the other rooms, it seems clear that this part of the house was used for a variety of domestic activities and for entertaining guests. The organisation of space is relatively complex, with access to some of the rooms being gained via anterooms (as in the case of rooms 4a and 4b), and rooms 5, 5a and 5b are isolated from the court, approached via a passage and an intervening space. The newer eastern block was linked to the western area via a passage into the court, which gave access to most of the east wing. A second entrance led via a door in the north of the court, into room D to the north of the block. This was unconnected with the remainder of the eastern wing and seems to have been used as a store-room, to judge by the *pithoi* set into the floor along its eastern wall (Reber 1992, 127). The copious water supply (Reber 1990, 112f) and kiln (Reber 1991, 133) suggest that the remainder of the eastern area was not domestic in function, but served as a potter's workshop.

This house takes the segmentation of space seen in the previous two houses a stage further. In addition to domestic quarters and facilities for visitors, a third section was dedicated to craft activity. The way in which this is achieved maintains the integrity of the domestic quarters, and access to the other areas of the house from here is limited (a pattern which parallels the distinction seen in the house of the coroplast at Halos – see below). At the same time the increasingly complex internal organisation, which comprised suites of rooms, would have made the isolation of individuals or activities easier, although supervising a variety of different activities in different parts of the house from a single location would have been much harder.

In sum, the double courtyard houses take the segmentation of space into inner and outer areas, seen in the *Herdraum* house, a step further, with the creation of separate courts: an outer court housed decorated rooms for entertaining, whilst an inner one accommodated many of the domestic activities. At the same time control over access to the house as a whole was maintained by limiting access. Nevertheless, as with the *Herdraum* house, the double courtyard arrangement would have made it more difficult to oversee activities in both areas of the house simultaneously.

Houses of the later fourth to earlier third century

During this period a number of new, and often regularly planned, cities were built. Some of these have been surveyed whilst others have been partially excavated, and studies of domestic structures have been an important element of explorations of the urban fabric. These suggest that there was a continuation of the trend seen during the fourth century, towards increasing differentiation between houses in terms of their size and the amount of decoration incorporated into them. In order to accommodate the requirements of the houses at the larger end of the scale, the double courtyard arrangement continued to be used. In parallel with these developments, there also seems to have been an increase in the diversity of the architectural forms of house which were adopted, although in organisation these houses still seem broadly to have conformed to many of the rules established above.

The last quarter of the fourth century saw the construction of a new residential quarter at Pella, in northern Greece (Makaronas and Giouri 1989, 168), organised on an orthogonal plan (Papakonstantinou-Diamantou 1971, 60). Each *insula* contains only a small number of houses which vary in the amount of ground they cover, although many of them are far larger than any discussed so far. Two particular houses have been studied closely with particular attention paid to their decoration, which included elaborate mosaic floors representing figured scenes, after which the houses are named. Although neither structure has been fully excavated, some comments can be made.

The better-preserved of the two, the House of Dionysos, occupies an area of over 3,000 m^2 (Makaronas and Giouri 1989, 18) (Figure 35). The entrance seems to have been via a lobby on the east side of the building and was decorated with Ionic columns (*ibid.*, 152). Interior space is organised around two peristyle courts which give on to a variety of rooms (*ibid.*, 19). Many of the rooms off both courts are richly decorated with mosaic floors. On the north and east sides of the northern court there is a variety of small rooms, and it is only here that there seems to have been an upper

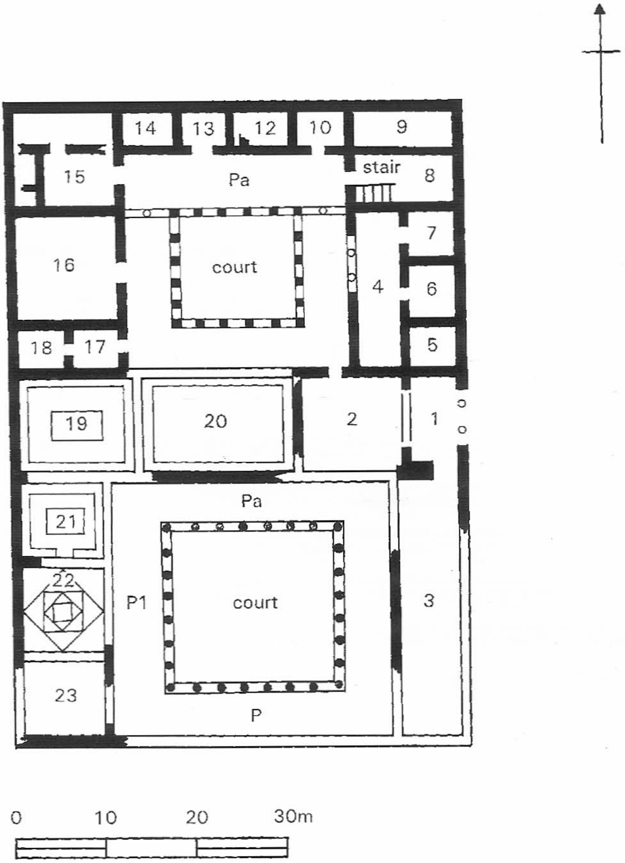

Figure 35. Plan of the house of Dionysos, Pella

storey (Makaronas and Giouri 1989, 8). This house continues the double-courtyard pattern found at Eretria and Maroneia, but on a much larger scale. The architecture, however, makes less of an obvious distinction between the two sections, with both consisting of decorative peristyles. Unusually, it is the southern apartments here which are the more splendid even though they were not best placed in order to take advantage of the natural sunlight in winter and shade in summer.

This house represents a massive change in scale compared with anything discussed so far: this, together with the lavish decoration, both in the northern and southern peristyles, suggest that unprecedented resources were spent on its construction. This decoration may have been aimed, at least partly, at impressing visitors, who could have been entertained in one of a variety of dining rooms. Even the entrance seems to have been designed to project an impressive image. The lobby, with its side-doors at right-angles, would have prevented passers-by from seeing further into the house from the street, and there is no evidence that there was a further entrance, so that access would have been restricted. In terms of patterns of activity, the two courts were separated by a substantial range of rooms so that activity could have taken place

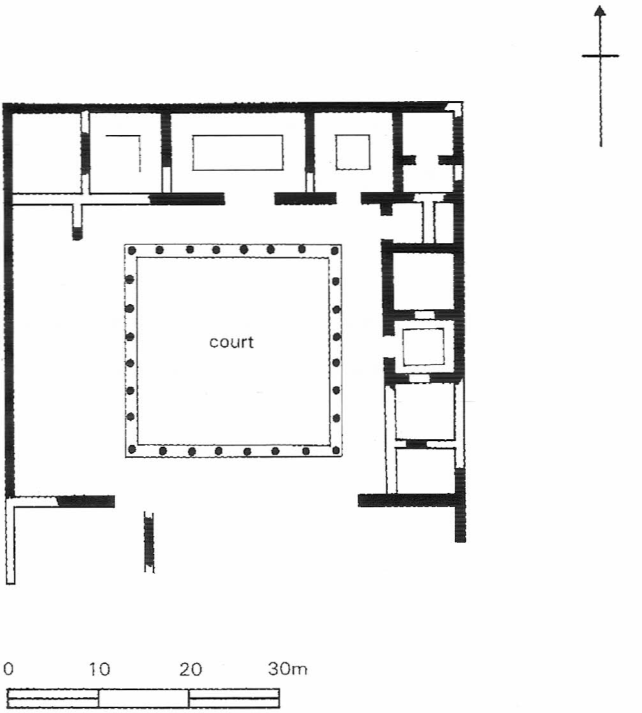

Figure 36. Plan of house of the Rape of Helen, Pella

independently in each area. Nevertheless, because the rooms were entered independently, movement in each section could have been supervised relatively easily.

The organisation of the House of the Rape of Helen is somewhat different: less of the original plan has been recovered and much of the perimeter wall is lacking (Figure 36). The evidence we do have points to a similar level of decoration, with decorative columns and a variety of rooms featuring mosaic floors and coloured plaster decoration. This house was smaller than the house of Dionysos, with an area of around 2,300 m^2 (Makaronas and Giouri 1989, 18) and only a single court. The main entrance was probably on the east side and there may also have been a further street door (*ibid.*, 148 and note 2). Not all of the internal doorways can be reconstructed so that it is not always possible to determine patterns of internal communications. The northern range of rooms seems to have housed three decorated dining areas, with a further two smaller rooms on the eastern range, together with a staircase leading to an upper storey (*ibid.*,). Unless the foundations uncovered to the south represent part of the same structure, the domestic aspect lacks a separate specialised court in this house, despite its large size and lavish decoration. Such a pattern foreshadows the organisation of the later houses found at Delos and may perhaps be associated with a radically different pattern of domestic social relations (see below pp. 164–166).

A very early third-century settlement currently under excavation is Halos, in

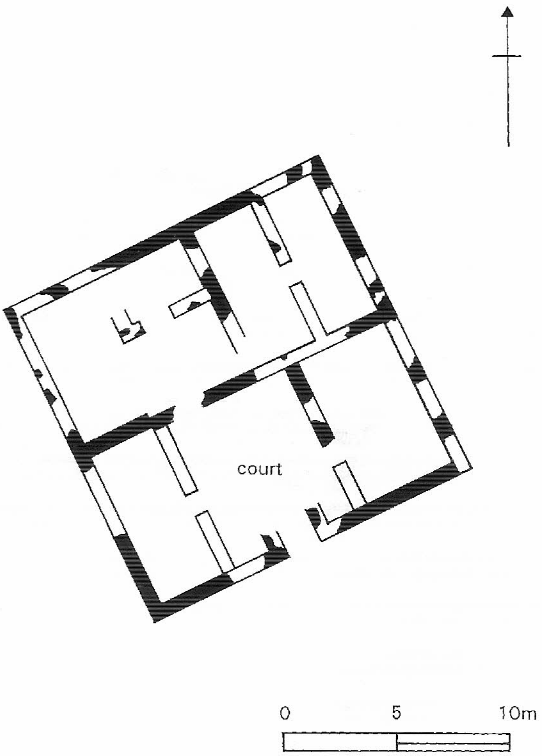

Figure 37. Plan of house A, Halos

Epirus (Reinders 1979; Reinders 1983; Reinders and Bottema 1983; Reinders 1988; Reinders 1994). Material at the site has not been destroyed by later building activity, although the thin soil cover means that agricultural work has left the remains of the houses in a disturbed state (Reinders 1988, 114). The city was laid out on a regular grid pattern on a relatively flat area below an acropolis but within a fortification wall. Detailed plans of two houses suggest a remarkable degree of dissimilarity from each other and serve as a warning against taking one or two excavated houses at a site as representative of all its housing, even where a regular grid was used for the city and the building plots available for housing were roughly similar in size.

House A (*ibid.*, 113–117) is a courtyard house with a total area of around 225 m^2 (Figure 37). Work here was limited to cleaning of the walls, so that the plan has had to be reconstructed on the basis of what few blocks remain from each individual wall and the evidence for the existence of some of the walls seems to have been very slight (*ibid.*, plan 71). The entrance from the street is marked by a threshold block, and leads into a southern court, flanked by rooms on each side. To the north is what must have been the main living area, with a *pastas*-like anteroom.

The second structure, the house of the coroplast (*ibid.*, 117–134), is quite different (Figure 38), and because it was excavated more detailed information is available about the organisation of space and the uses of the rooms. The house is slightly

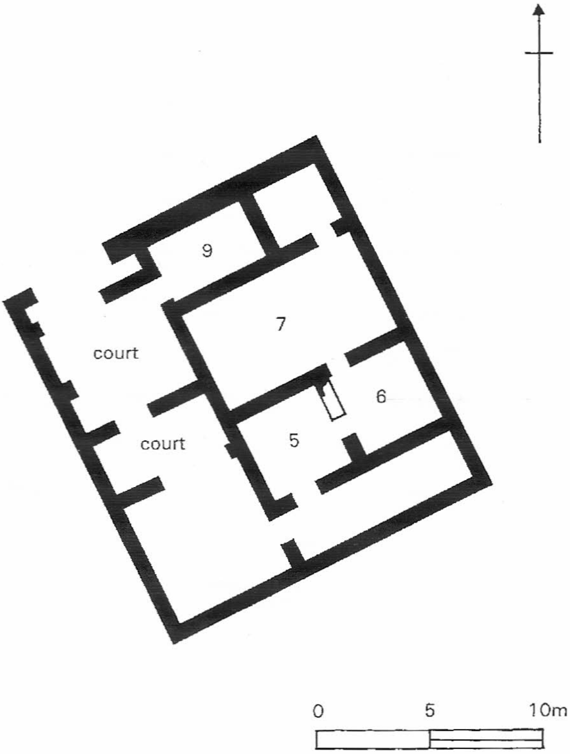

Figure 38. Plan of the house of the Coroplast, Halos

smaller than house A, with a ground area of around 200 m² (*ibid.*, 117). The street entrance lay on the north side, and there was a small porch or *prothyron* (*ibid.*, 123), which gave into a small interior space. In plan the arrangement of the rooms is linear rather than centripetal, and spatially the house falls into two separate halves. There seems to have been an unroofed area to the northwest (*ibid.* 123). This gave access to room 9, beside the front door, which contained few household objects and which the excavator interprets as a shop or store (*ibid.*, 122). Facing the street door is a further room which gives access to the remaining rooms of the house in succession. The first room to be entered has been interpreted as a further unroofed space, while behind it lay what is likely to have been a roofed workshop to judge from the objects found here. These include not only the nails and tile scatter which form the remains of the roof, but also a range of pottery and a large number of terracotta figurines and figurine moulds (*ibid.* 123–126).

Access to the remainder of the house appears to have been gained only through this workshop, via a door in the west wall. Behind lay a narrow anteroom with few traces of finds, which gave access to a series of rooms reached sequentially. The first, room 5, seems to have been the main living and storage area of the domestic part of the house: a central hearth would have provided heat and allowed for cooking, and it was here that the majority of the pottery and small finds were located (*ibid.* 128). The neighbouring room (6) yielded no finds: on the basis of its position next to the kitchen it is tempting to identify this as a washing area, but no evidence is reported of a terracotta tub or of waterproofing on the floor. In the larger room beyond was a small number of household objects, leading the excavators to identify this as the main living area. Thus, like the houses at Eretria, this house seems to have been divided into two distinct halves. Here, however, the division is between a private area to the east (and therefore without the advantages for climate control of the northern location so often found), while to the west lay a more public workshop facility. This dual residence and workshop recalls the division between house and pottery found in house IV at Eretria. It resembles more closely the later phases of houses C and D at Athens, where house D seems to have been turned into a workshop attached to house C (see above p. 90), or the last phase of house D in Halieis, where the original building plot seems to have been divided in half, and the western area used as some sort of processing complex (Ault 1994, 175).[11]

At Halos, then, what can be deduced of the layout of house A suggests that it was organised in a similar manner to houses of a similar size seen elsewhere, including those found a century earlier at Olynthos. Less detailed information about further houses at the site suggests that at least some of them followed a similar plan (Haagsma 1991; Reinders 1994, 219–220). The unusual layout of the house of the coroplast suggests that, despite its different internal organisation, social pressures may have been acting to shape the domestic environment which are similar to those seen elsewhere. A single entrance to the complex as a whole still exists, and this is in full view of the workshop space. The open court communicates directly only with two rooms in the outer area of the house. It does not, therefore, act as a communication route for the house as a whole and is unlikely to have provided the extension of living space suggested above for houses elsewhere. (Support for this view is the lack of any kind of roofed portico area, like the *pastas* or *prostas*.) The inner section communicates with the remainder of the house only in one place, through the workshop, suggesting that access was controlled by the artisan. It seems possible that this reflects the presence in this area of the house of outsiders, and a need for privacy for the occupants such as is seen in the house–workshop complex at Eretria. The sequential arrangement of space within the private area would have meant that although access could have been controlled, the activities taking place inside and movement between the different rooms could not have been supervised from the workshop.

Another group of third-century houses are those excavated at Petres in north-west Greece (Velenis 1987; Photos *et al.* 1988; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1988). In this case the unusual plan may be attributable to the severe slope of up to 50 degrees on which the houses are located (Velenis 1987, 9). (Compare the more moderate slopes of 10–15 per cent reported at sites such as Athens, Priene and Sparta (Toynbee 1971, 92).) Although a number have been investigated, only in three houses have enough of the outside walls been excavated to allow reconstruction of the organisation of interior space (Velenis 1987, 15), and published plans are somewhat fragmentary and difficult to interpret. Houses of a comparable date, but presenting a pattern of organisation which is somewhat clearer are those from nearby Agios Panteleimon,

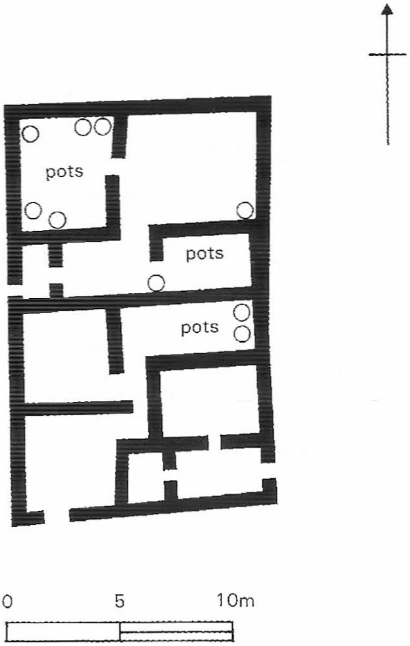

Figure 39. Plan of the houses from Florina

Florina (Lilibaki-Akamati and Akamatis 1990; Lilibaki-Akamati 1991). These are built in adjacent square blocks, each of which seems to contain three independent units, each one comprising three or four separate spaces and with an area of not more than 120 m² (Figure 39). The larger spaces were paved (Lilibaki-Akamati and Akamatis 1990, 68f), suggesting that they were open courts, although there is no evidence of any portico or *pastas*. Evidence for domestic activities includes storage of foodstuffs (*ibid.*, 68) and weaving (*ibid.*, 71). Also amongst the finds are a number of bronze vessels which must have been in use when the houses were destroyed by fire (*ibid.*, 71). The size of these structures and the small number of rooms make them comparable with the smallest houses of an earlier date seen at Olynthos and Athens, and the limited amount of space available must have had a similar effect on patterns of activity, limiting the extent to which individuals and activities could be separated within the domestic environment.

Further evidence of housing of this date comes from the Chalara area of Phaistos in Crete (Figure 40). In the central area of the site is a Hellenistic house with an area of approximately 200 m² (Levi 1967–8; Levi 1976). This represents one of the few examples of structures which may be attributable to a city which may have had a constitution similar to that of the Spartans, who were regarded by the Attic authors as having very different customs from their own, both in public and in private life (see above p. 20). Unfortunately, only a single structure survives. This is not in a very good state of preservation, and the finds are not reported in the publication so that it is impossible to explore the likely uses of the different rooms in any detail. Together,

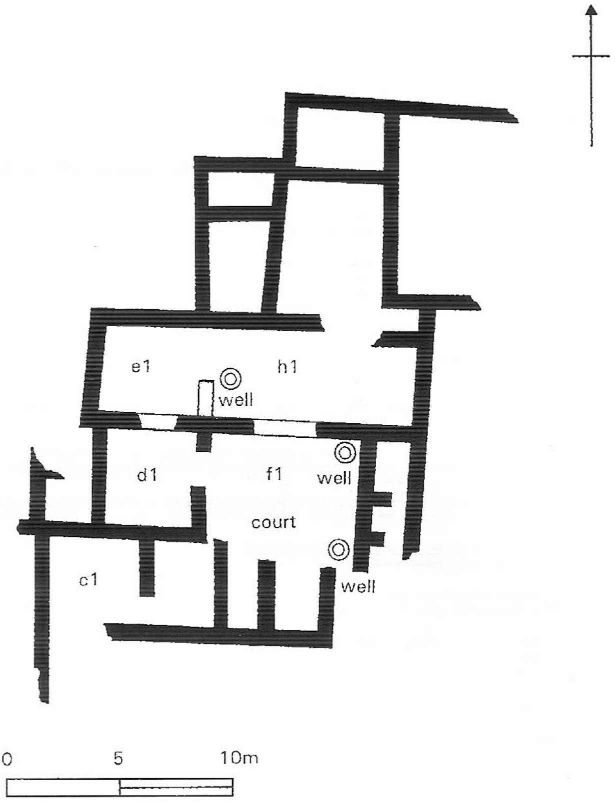

Figure 40. Plan of the Chalara house, Phaistos, Crete

these factors mean that it is impossible to test the hypothesis that different social norms operated here from those in other areas of Greece, and there is no comparable evidence of this date from elsewhere in Crete which would allow this material to be put into a regional context.[12] Nevertheless, it is possible to comment on various aspects of the layout, some of which are familiar from houses elsewhere, while others are unique.

The location of the main entrance is impossible to reconstruct, but it is clear that the interior was arranged around a paved central court (f1) with a narrower paved area (h1), a second court, or possibly a *pastas*, to the north. Two large, squarish rooms occupy the western wing: d1 is constructed of fine isodomic masonry (*ibid.* 79), whilst e1, which may or may not have been connected with it (*ibid.*, 81), had fine stucco walls (*ibid.*, 82). These may have constituted a more public area, whilst to the north, a large room with two small chambers to its west may have been the main living space. Also on the north side was a complex of rooms which included an olive press (*ibid.* 91) and it is uncertain whether or not this communicated with the remainder of the building. A staircase on the south-western corner of the house led to an upper storey above room c1. A further group of rooms forming part of a structure to the south is too fragmentary to comment on. In terms of its pattern of spatial

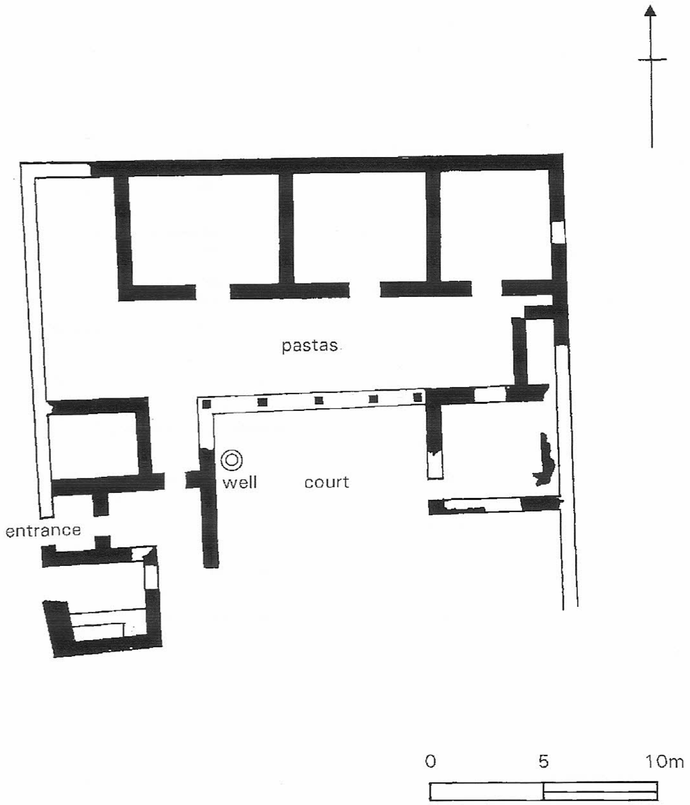

Figure 41. Plan of house B, Pella

organisation this house displays some unusual features, such as the pressing complex at its extreme north, and the position of the staircase. But because of the fragmentary state of the building and the lack of evidence about finds, discussion of the significance of those features is impossible.

A further house, also not preserved in its entirety but useful for discussion, is building B at Pella (Oikonomos 1914; Oikonomos 1915) (Figure 41). The building is oriented almost exactly north–south. A flagged court at the south is surrounded to north, east and west by rooms, with the largest amount of accommodation to the north. These northern rooms are on a larger scale than the others and are entered via a long narrow area, separated from the court by a colonnade. As far as is possible to judge, the court forms the main route by which the different rooms were entered, since there is little intercommunication between individual rooms. Enough remains to indicate that in many respects this house resembles the smaller fourth-century structures discussed above, but the majority of the finds indicate that the house is probably Hellenistic (Oikonomos 1914, 140–141). Its pattern of organisation suggests that an earlier type continued alongside the houses of more massive size which have already been discussed. This implies that the patterns of social organisation with which it was associated also persisted, although its fragmentary state does not allow detailed consideration of features such as measures taken to ensure privacy.

To summarise developments in the late-fourth to early-third centuries: some of the houses of this period continue to resemble the relatively small houses which preceded them: they were of relatively modest size and decoration, and continued to follow the familiar single entrance and centripetal pattern of organisation around an open court. The two large houses at Pella present a striking contrast to this overall pattern in that they attest a level of wealth and display not documented in earlier periods. Although both single- and double-courtyard patterns of spatial organisation have been found widely elsewhere, the area of ground which these examples cover is of an order of magnitude larger than even the Eretria houses, which are their nearest rivals in size. Both courts in the house of Dionysos are decorative peristyles, so that the functional distinction between the two parts of the house is less marked than is the case elsewhere, although the larger rooms and mosaic decoration in the southern peristyle would have made this area the more impressive. The lavishness of these houses compared with the single small house from this site, and the range of smaller third-century structures seen elsewhere, gives a clear indication of increasing differentiation in wealth between different households, and possibly also between different settlements.

Domestic spatial organisation in Greece: an overview

By examining individual structures in detail it has been possible to build up a general impression of the nature of housing in Greece, and of changes which took place in the domestic environment through time. Only a few examples of fifth-century date are available, and the buildings which can confidently be interpreted as having had a domestic function are somewhat diverse both in size and in their pattern of internal organisation. By the fourth century the more numerous examples give a more coherent picture of patterns of spatial organisation. Grouping the sites on the basis of those patterns is useful in focusing attention on the articulation of space within the house and suggests that the *prostas* and *pastas* houses were used in similar ways. These combine to form an encompassing type which can be referred to as the single entrance, courtyard house, where the house is entered through a single entrance and the majority of the space is taken up by an open court, with the main rooms to the north reached separately via a colonnade.

Spatial organisation in the *Herdraum* house represents a variation of this type. The court is smaller in proportion to the total area and is without a colonnade (although at Ammotopos one was later added to house 1). A large, roofed area or *Herdraum* performs some of the functions fulfilled elsewhere by the court, serving as an activity area and as the main space from which the other rooms of the house are reached. As was occasionally the case in the other types, these structures are thus divided into two clusters of rooms, one comprising the *oikos* and the inner chambers leading off it, and a second which consists of the court and the outer rooms to which it gives access. The *andron* is included in this latter group. Segmentation of the house in this way would have meant that it would have been less easy to oversee movement around the whole house. At the same time, however, interaction between the occupants of the house and outsiders could effectively have been controlled from the court, because in order to reach the family rooms it would have been necessary to pass through the outer area, which was architecturally separate from the domestic quarters (except in one phase of occupation of the Ammotopos house, when the cooking space was located opposite the street entrance).

In the double courtyard house, each court forms the focus for a functionally distinct group of rooms: one of these areas, provided with a colonnade or peristyle, gives access to one or more decorated rooms, while a simpler second court, lying further from the street entrance, gives access to the domestic quarters, sometimes including a living room with a built hearth. In the same way as the *Herdraum* houses, these structures are effectively divided into two separate clusters of rooms, each focused around its own central space. The introduction of the additional open area would have allowed extra rooms to be added while still providing light and ventilation to each through internal doors or windows, rather than through external openings which would have exposed the interior of the house to public view. At the same time there is scope for the outdoor spaces to become more specialised: in the outer area the court is often a decorative peristyle whose columns echo those of public buildings and are meant to be visually striking. The inner area normally achieves a less decorative effect, with a portico which may have offered the kind of shady working space provided by the *pastas* or *prostas* in the single-courtyard house.

Despite these differences in spatial organisation, various features are common to many houses and occur in examples from all three categories. They also parallel devices identified in Chapter 4 as characteristic of particular patterns of domestic organisation, suggesting that similar social pressures were acting to shape the domestic environment. Except in the smallest examples, the single street entrance tends to be separated visually, if not spatially, from the domestic areas, through the use of devices like the enclosed entrances or angled passages found, for instance, at Athens, Halieis and Eretria. The small, high windows found at Ammotopos must have been effective more as a means of ventilation, than of lighting. Once inside, Ault's work on the finds from Halieis supports the idea that, as at Olynthos, the court served as a work area as well as a route by which to reach the other rooms. As suggested above in relation to Olynthos, anyone lingering here would have been able to observe the movements of individuals passing from room to room. It would have been difficult to look into those rooms from the courtyard, particularly where the entrance was shaded by a portico, since the interior would have been relatively dark in comparison with the natural light of the exterior (Löhr 1990, 15), and the breadth of view would have been restricted to the area revealed by the window and/or open door. In contrast, the brighter court could have been observed relatively easily from the dim interior. Amongst the rooms, a specific area, the *andron*, was often provided for entertaining guests. Through the construction of an anteroom and/or the align-ment of its doorway, some privacy was achieved both for the occupants and for the other members of the household. This was taken a step further in the double-courtyard houses, where the provision of the two separate courts would have meant that normal domestic activity could have continued in one court, uninterrupted by the arrival of guests in the other part of the house. It seems possible that this pattern of organisation developed in response to an increase in the use of the house as a location for entertaining.

Despite the different patterns of spatial organisation adopted in the three categories of house outlined above, these groupings are likely to represent alternative solutions to the same set of underlying problems. These problems are the ones identified in Chapter 4 as crucial to the organisation of the houses at Olynthos, namely how to regulate social relationships within the domestic environment. Although they are architecturally and organisationally different, the layouts of single-courtyard, *Herdraum* and double-courtyard houses all offered a means of supervising social interaction within the domestic environment to varying degrees. In the single-courtyard house the close links between different areas would have meant that movement between rooms could have been monitored or controlled either from the court or from one of the rooms. No systematic and detailed information is yet available about the finds from different areas, either of a double-courtyard house, or of a *Herdraum* house. This means that the uses of the rooms must be inferred on architectural grounds, with the help of parallels from examples of the better-documented single-courtyard house. Nevertheless, the relatively complex patterns of internal organisation in both double courtyard and *Herdraum* houses must have been related to their own distinct patterns of social behaviour. Current evidence suggests that in both types similar priorities were operating: beginning in the early to mid-fourth century, space in some houses was divided up into separate areas and access to the inner part was governed by the outer part. Contact between the two was restricted to different degrees. In the *Herdraum* house, the *Herdraum* itself would have represented a position from which movement around the house could have been observed. In the double-courtyard houses the situation is less clear owing to the poor preservation of the wall separating the two courts, but it is likely that the two areas would have operated more or less independently of each other, and that there was no vantage point from which movement around the house as a whole could have been observed. Those undertaking domestic chores in that area would therefore have been able to operate independently of the outer area, although the radial pattern of organisation would have meant that activity within that area could have been overseen by one individual. (This would also have been the case in most of the *Herdraum* and segmented single entrance, courtyard houses.)

Some of these structures offer a picture of a house which is divided spatially, but when viewed in the context of the houses of the area as a whole, it can be seen that this division represents one of a range of solutions adopted to the problem of organising the domestic environment in order to accommodate visitors and family whilst retaining control over interaction. While there is some element of separating men and women in this, the overall distinction made seems to be more complex than the straightforward division commonly suggested, with kinship playing an important role as well as gender.

Towards the end of the fourth century the trend towards increasing differentiation between houses in terms of their size and decoration, which began in the early to mid-fourth century, becomes more noticeable. Extreme examples are the huge structures at Pella which covered over 2,000 m^2 and comprised vast peristyles and large numbers of decorated rooms, but which seem, in essence, to be very large and elaborate versions of their predecessors. In Chapter 7 these developments are viewed in a broader context, and it is argued that the development of such structures is closely linked with social and political developments taking place during the fourth and early third centuries. First, however, material from the western Greek sites is considered, which offers a comparative perspective from a different part of the Greek world.

6

Regional patterns in domestic organisation: Greek houses from Sicily and southern Italy

This chapter discusses a range of houses from Greek communities in urban and rural locations in Sicily and southern Italy. The distribution of suitable material means that the overwhelming majority of these houses are located in Sicily (see Figure 42). There is a long history of interest in the Greek settlements of this region although, because it was home to a variety of native tribes and was also the scene of repeated Carthaginian attack and Roman invasion, there are some instances where it is difficult to distinguish between the houses of Greeks and those of other populations. The aim of this investigation is specifically to examine variability within the Greek world. Therefore, in order to exclude potentially misleading sources of variation, this discussion excludes doubtful cases such as the late third-century levels at Camarina, which was subject to Mamertine invasion (Pelagatti 1976, 128), and late fourth-century levels at Selinunte, which was invaded by the Carthaginians (Martin 1977, 58). Nevertheless, in order to gain as large a sample as possible for discussion, other communities which are widely acknowledged to have become strongly Hellenised are discussed, including Morgantina, Solunto and Monte Iato (see, for example, Martin and Vallet 1980, 344–347 and Tsakirgis 1995, 125f on Morgantina; Martin and Vallet 1980, 348–349 on Solunto and Monte Iato).

Among the topics which have been studied using specifically western Greek material are the dating of the earliest date of Greek occupation in a particular location, the layout of the settlement, and the nature of Greek–native relations at around the date of foundation. With respect to private houses in particular, research has generally focused on dating different construction phases and assigning functions to various rooms. Some brief syntheses have appeared (for example De Miro 1979; Martin and Vallet 1980; Barra Bagnasco 1990; Barra Bagnasco 1996a; Barra Bagnasco 1996b; De Miro 1996), but research has most usually been conducted on a site-by-site basis. One strong tendency in some previous work has been to see the Greek house in the broader context of Italian archaeology; terms such as *exedra* and *oecus*, which are familiar in descriptions of Roman houses from the region, are used in preference to terms such as *andron*, which are more familiar to Greek archaeologists. Although this may seem to be a small point, it is important because it may lead to differing assumptions about the use of space. (An example of a work where this is a consideration is Tsakirgis' study of Morgantina: Tsakirgis 1988, which is discussed in detail below.)

The amount of domestic material published varies from site to site: at Himera and Locri Epizefiri it is possible to reconstruct the contents of the houses on a room-by-

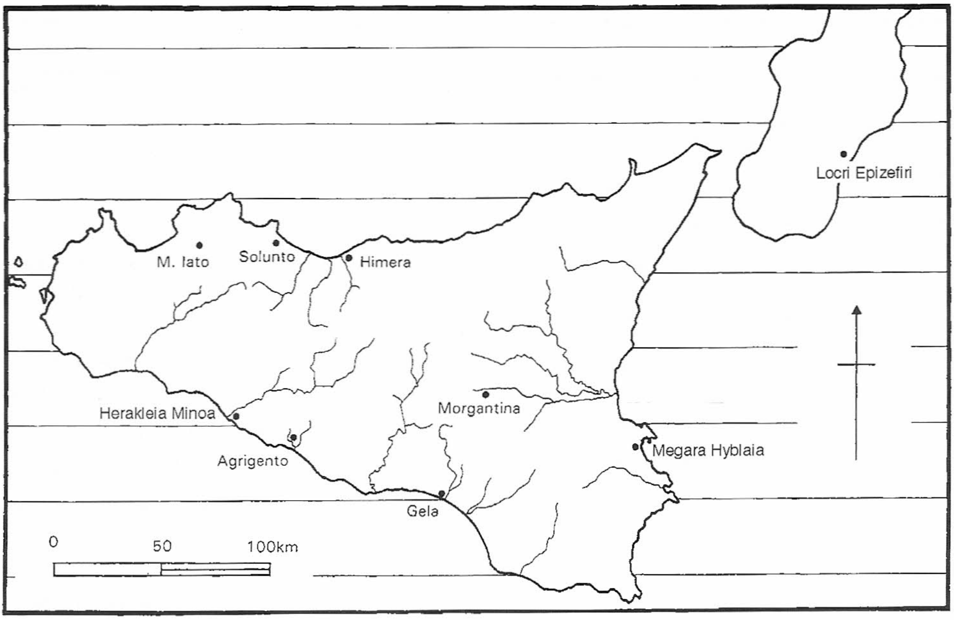

Figure 42. Map showing the locations of sites in Sicily and southern Italy discussed in the text

room basis, and at Himera the number of houses that have been excavated is large enough to sustain statistical analysis, albeit on a more limited scale than is possible with the Olynthos material. In contrast, at the other sites less information is available. Fewer structures have generally been excavated and publication tends to be limited to a brief discussion, sometimes with a plan of the houses in question.

Greek presence in the west can be documented archaeologically from as early as the eighth century BC (Finley 1979, 16). At Megara Hyblaia, the earliest settlement dates back to the late eighth to early seventh centuries BC, when the city was laid out in *insulae* defined by a network of straight streets. The roads do not intersect at right angles, which means that the intervening *insulae* on which the houses are built are trapezoidal. From a slightly later date the majority of settlements not only use a grid plan, but also adopt a regular, orthogonal arrangement for the streets, leaving standardised rectangular building plots between. Sites following this pattern include Monte Saraceno, which was first laid out in the seventh century (De Miro 1979, 723); Himera, whose earlier grid plan dates to the early sixth century (Belvedere and Epifanio 1976, 578); Agrigento, laid out in the late sixth century (De Miro and Fiorentini 1972–1973, 234) and Morgantina, whose grid is likely to date back to the fifth century (De Miro and Fiorentini 1972–1973, 195). In some instances, two adjoining grids were used on slightly different orientations, which may have been to allow for local topography, as is the case at Megara Hyblaia (Vallet 1970–1971, 74) and Morgantina (Bell 1980, 195).

Examples of Greek houses of early date have been found at Agrigento (ancient Akragas) and at Megara Hyblaia. At Megara Hyblaia, the earliest Greek houses date back to the eighth century (Vallet 1970–1971, 74; Vallet 1973, 89; Vallet *et al.* 1976, 324). The plots were defined by enclosure walls within which the houses were located (Vallet *et al.* 1976, 269–270), rather than by the outer walls of the houses themselves. At Agrigento the earliest Greek settlement remains consist of rock-cut foundations which seem to represent for the most part single-roomed houses, probably of sixth century origin. These are scattered or arranged in groups, and do not follow the same linear patterning found in later phases (Marconi 1929, 43–44). Where occasionally more than one room is provided there is no internal communication between the compartments, each of which is reached separately from the outside (De Miro 1979, 713). Individual structures of seventh- and sixth-century date from a range of sites have been identified as *pastas*-type houses (for example, house 1 at Naxos: Lentini 1984–5). Nevertheless, such structures seem either to have been influenced by indigenous Sicilian building-types, or to have had a sacred as well as or instead of a domestic function (Cordsen 1995, *passim*). In comparison with the later *pastas*-type structures seen in Greece itself, they are also relatively uncomplex, with few rooms.

Houses of fifth-century date

By the fifth century, the period of interest here, these early house-types had largely been destroyed and superseded. Our best evidence for the nature of the kinds of houses which followed comes from the Sicilian city of Himera (Figure 43). The abundant material includes details of finds and their locations, as well as of the architecture, and the number of houses excavated makes statistical analysis possible. Because of the richness of the information it yields, the site merits relatively detailed consideration (although this is not to imply anything about its significance relative to other less extensively explored and recorded settlements).

Himera: a detailed analysis of houses from a western Greek settlement

Himera lies in what is now a rural location, on a coastal plateau in northern Sicily. The city is traditionally said to have been founded in 648 BC (Diodorus 13.62) by the inhabitants of the Greek colony at Zancle (Miller 1970, 6). Excavation carried out in the 1960s and 1970s revealed that there were three principal phases of occupation: the earliest is now represented only by scattered traces of foundations constructed on a north-west–south-east alignment using small irregular blocks, and Proto-Corinthian pottery found in these levels dates them to the late seventh to early sixth centuries (Joly 1970, 258). This first settlement seems to have suffered widespread destruction which is indicated in many areas by extensive burning and ash deposits. A radical rebuilding took place during the early fifth century, perhaps connected with an episode of recolonisation (Belvedere and Epifanio 1976, 580), and this second phase of construction was based on a new north–south orientation and a regular grid plan. The contrast in orientation between this and the first city allows the two phases to be distinguished with relative ease. This second plan was subsequently modified substantially using a different type of masonry, and the new houses constructed at this time seem to have been in use for around a century before the site was finally destroyed in 409 BC (Adriani 1970, 3). It is the houses of this last period of

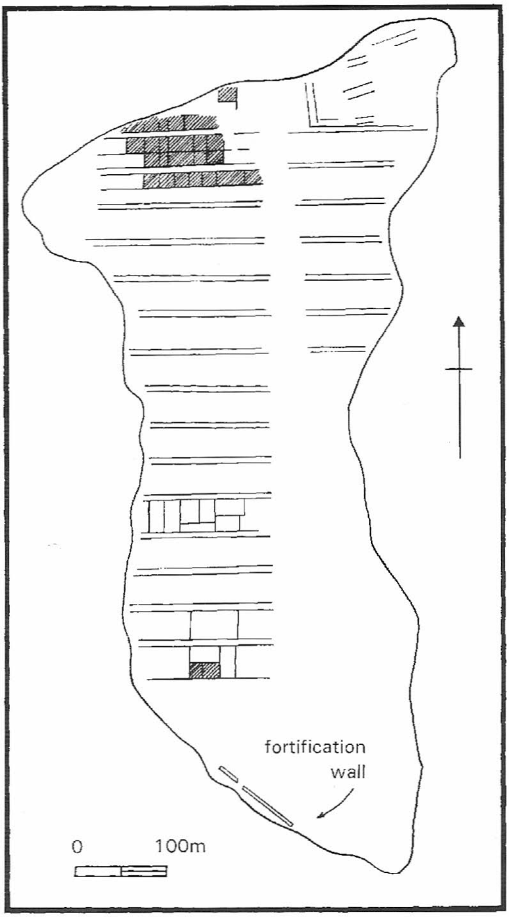

Figure 43. Plan of Himera, fifth-century phase

occupation which are of interest here since they offer the best chance of finding objects *in situ* where they were used or stored. These houses were arranged along parallel streets in blocks or *insulae*. As in many other cities where a regular grid plan was used, rows of houses were built back to back, separated by narrow passageways running parallel to the streets. The presence of stair-bases in some instances suggests that at least some also had upper storeys.

Because Himera was occupied over an extended period, the archaeological record is liable to be confused, with regard to both the distribution of the finds and the interpretation of the building plans. Some details of the stratigraphy are given in the publication but there are inevitably uncertainties concerning the less closely datable pottery, or in relation to the contemporaneity of certain walls. One particular problem is that the location of some of the doorways is uncertain, and this affects any discussion of the way in which different rooms were connected. It also leads to the further difficulty that through time the divisions between the houses seem to have

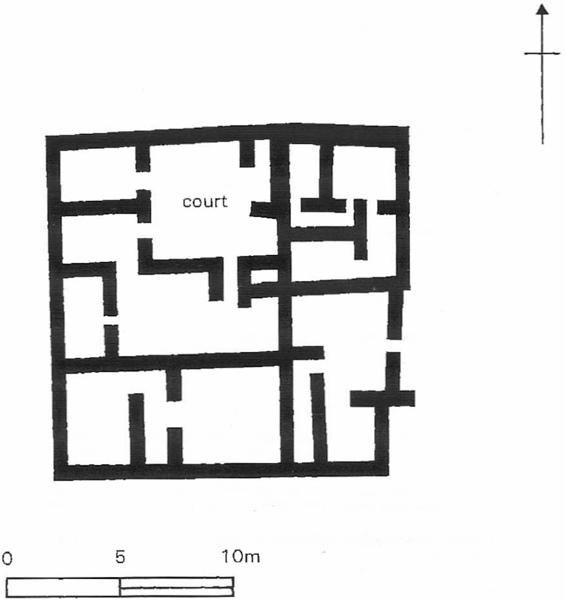

Figure 44. Plan of a house from insula II, Himera (fifth-century phase)

become increasingly irregular, so that it is not always obvious where the dividing walls between the individual houses lay. There are some cases where an individual plot seems to fall easily into subunits, suggesting that it may have been subdivided (for example, the Insula II house illustrated in Figure 44). In at least one instance modification of the original plan has even blocked what was originally a street (street 15: Tullio 1976, 387–388).

Since the remains of the city are situated on a flat plateau, the amount of destruction caused by natural processes and the extent to which material may have been moved about by erosion are likely to be slight. Prior to excavation, however, the site came under severe pressure from farmers, and because the protective fill amounts to only about 30 cm in depth, deep ploughing has caused so much damage that in areas such as *insula* 5 even the traces of the foundations have been obliterated and the lines of the walls are impossible to reconstruct (Belvedere and Epifanio 1976, 225).

The criteria applied to the selection of houses for examination here are similar to those used above (Chapter 4) in relation to Olynthos, except that here unpublished information has not been taken into account. Discussion focuses on those houses where the entire plan of an individual house (as defined by the excavators) is preserved along with the floor levels, and where the whole structure has been excavated. In view of the interpretative problems outlined above, the assumptions of the excavators, made on architectural grounds, are followed with regard to the extent and boundaries of the individual houses, although as with the Olynthos data the material is analysed on a room-by-room basis.

Excavation at Himera is less extensive than at Olynthos, so that it is even more important to rely on simple forms of analysis such as cross-tabulation to reveal recurring patterns and hence give an indication of patterns of activity. One important characteristic of the data is that there is a greater variety in the types of finishes used for the pottery than noted at Olynthos: in addition to the usual coarse fabrics and the Attic or Attic-style 'black glaze', a 'banded ware' is also present and is identified by the excavators as being of local manufacture and contemporary with the Greek imports (Bonacasa 1976, 62f). There seems to be a tendency to duplicate shapes in the different wares, although without examination of the pottery at first hand this is obviously impossible to quantify precisely, and this impression may be due at least in part to the way in which objects are described or classified. Ideally, the various wares should be classified and analysed separately in order to determine whether the distinctions between fabrics made by the excavators are likely to have been associated with significant differences in the ways in which the objects were actually used. Unfortunately, however, the sample sizes are so low in almost all the categories that patterns cannot be identified securely on that basis. In the analysis which follows, therefore, the vessels are divided into two basic groups comprising coarse- and finewares, respectively, although the groups are broken down by shape. A total of 185 rooms are analysed, making up about 20 houses, each one around 200 m² in area. These are shaded in Figure 43.

As a consequence of the small number of reasonably high phi square test results involving grouped pottery the picture of the organisation of domestic space at Himera which emerges is very fragmentary. As at Olynthos, the different spaces whose total extent can be ascertained fall into three size categories, as follows: less than 24 m², 24 to 47 m², and above 47 m². (It is interesting to note that the overall average area of individual spaces at Himera is almost identical to that of Olynthos: 21.24 m² in comparison with 21.12 m², inclusive of the measurements of the court.)

The results of the analysis are listed in Appendix 4. The distribution of different ceramic shapes reveals some patterns of association which relate to use and/or storage. Rooms in the two upper size brackets show larger than average densities of *symposium* and household pottery. A co-occurrence of deep cups or *skyphoi* with other glazed cups suggests that these vessels may have performed similar functions, and there is also a correlation between glazed cups and *symposium* ware, suggesting that such cups were perhaps used at *symposia*. An association between *skyphoi* and plates supports the suggestion that the *skyphos* was also used as a table vessel. Further groups of associations, between *skyphoi* and plates, and the small box or *pyxis* and other articles of female toilet ware, suggests that in the west such vessels may have had less specialised uses than at Olynthos, although the association may also be the result of storage arrangements rather than patterns of use. There is a further connection between female toilet ware and the large *louteria* or pedestalled washbasins, calling to mind the illustrations of washing scenes identified in vase-paintings (see Plate 4).

Symposium ware is correlated with other objects which are likely to have had a range of uses, of which the *symposium* may have been one; these include vessel covers and terracotta basins. *Symposium* pottery is also associated with terracotta figurines, which suggests some decoration of the areas where it is found. Metal fittings, which are elements of decoration from furniture and wooden architectural features, are linked with structural metal objects such as rivets and nails, and this may be due partly to the difficulty in distinguishing between the two categories completely when some individual objects are badly corroded. Metal fittings are also associated with elements of table pottery, namely plates and black-glazed jugs, as well as household ware and storage pottery, suggesting decoration of the areas where these objects were used and/or stored. A similar link between fittings and projectile and spear points is part of a more general spread of weapons over the site, and may result from the city's violent destruction (compare the similar pattern noted for Olynthos in Chapter 4). It may also reflect some confusion of the two categories, again due to corrosion. Metal finds are also associated with terracotta figurines and with decorative architectural features such as pilasters and cornices, suggesting that some of the metal objects may have been decorative fittings, which may have enhanced the decorative appearance of these architectural features.

The fragmentary nature of the patterning emerging from the archaeological analysis makes interpretation in terms of social behaviour difficult. In general the low numbers of significant associations suggest that the artefacts were mixed together, and the associations which do occur also suggest that objects relating to a variety of different activities were probably used and/or stored together. A surprising aspect of the analysis is that little patterning emerges from the architectural variables, even though architecture tends to be the most consistently recorded element and is less prone to post-depositional disturbance. Although in some cases rooms seem to cluster, opening off a single space as in the single entrance courtyard houses seen in Chapters 4 and 5, there are some indications that the kinds of regular patterns of spatial organisation observed in connection with houses in Greece itself are not detectable here. For example, the courts which can be identified at Himera vary in their position relative to the remainder of the house, rather than being in a central or southerly location, and there is no evidence for the use of a portico for domestic activities. Any patterning will also have been blurred by the difficulty in determining the extent of each individual house. This acts together with a lack of evidence as to the location of some of the courts and doorways (it is possible to identify only five street doors and eleven spaces which are likely to have been courts). Both courts and doorways are important in any discussion of layout. The small number of each in proportion to the number of houses analysed means that it is difficult to test the conclusions drawn in Chapters 4 and 5 regarding privacy and freedom of movement around the house. It is therefore impossible to draw conclusions about whether similar social mores were observed to those seen in Greece itself. To do so it is necessary to refer to examples from other western Greek sites.

Fifth-century houses from other western Greek sites

Houses of a comparable date from other settlements in western Greek cities are few and do not provide a basis for firm generalisations, although they do offer an indication of what some of the houses looked like in individual settlements. Four

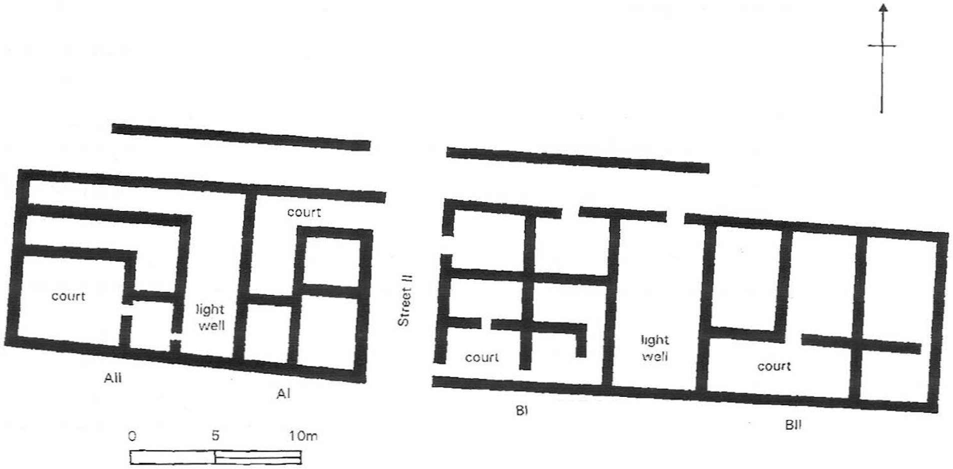

Figure 45. Plan of insulae I and II, Gela (fifth-century phase)

more or less complete structures from Gela (*insulae* I and II) are small courtyard houses (Figure 45), with areas varying between less than 100 m² and 180 m², and seem to be substantially different from the houses of Himera. Little information is available as to what activities were carried out in the different spaces. De Miro attributes uses to a few of the rooms, identifying roofed and unroofed spaces and interpreting two rooms on the side of house BI as shops, although the basis for these attributions is not made explicit. The houses are arranged in blocks, and if the various spaces within them are interpreted correctly, generous provision was made for light to enter through internal courts, a lane to the north, and substantial light-wells or yards between the properties (De Miro 1979, 709–711). The location of the main entrances is not always clear, but houses AI and BI seem to have been entered from street II which separated the two blocks of houses, and in BI there seems to have been an additional entrance from the rear. In contrast with Himera, where the position of the court is variable, these houses seem to have been organised paying some regard to orientation, since in three of the four examples the court is to the south. The locations of the entrances to the individual rooms are generally unclear, but the position of the court would often have meant that it was peripheral to the other rooms and played little role in movement around the house.

With respect to social relations, the fragmentary nature of these houses means that, again, the conclusions which can be drawn are limited. Nonetheless, the relatively small size of the court implies that not only was it relatively unimportant in terms of movement around the house, but also that little domestic activity could have taken place here. Again, not enough information is preserved to reveal whether measures were taken to restrict access to the house. But the relatively minor role played by the court in at least one case suggests that control over the interior of the house would have been difficult, and that the social priorities, suggested by the layout of houses of this date in Greece itself, may not have been operating here.

Himera and Gela represent only a very limited basis on which to discuss Greek housing of the fifth century in this area. Nevertheless, the contrasts in the role and location of the court here suggest that there was less standardisation in layout than is seen in the organisation of houses from Greece itself. Both sites also lack many of the features which, in Greece itself, demonstrate the influence of a specific set of social *mores* on households. Belvedere attributes differences in the organisation of the houses at Himera and Olynthos to the earlier date of the Himera houses (Belvedere and Epifanio 1976, 594). This hypothesis is supported by the evidence for irregular housing on the older, South Hill at Olynthos.

Houses of fourth-century date

Little is known of the earlier part of the fourth century which would provide continuity with these fifth-century sites, but more evidence is available from the second half of the fourth century. The presence of single entrance, courtyard houses suggests that the kinds of social behaviour outlined above, which can be associated with that form of organisation, did play a role in the region. Nevertheless, there are also some houses which were organised differently and this suggests that a variety of patterns of social relations may have co-existed.

Later phases of the houses from Gela, discussed above, date to this period, but these levels have been disturbed by later activity and satisfactory plans cannot be reconstructed. At Agrigento much of the fourth-century material has been destroyed by subsequent settlement, but in one small sector between the temple of Zeus and the sanctuary of the Chthonian deities, the stone foundations of two houses which were in use during the fourth century have been uncovered (De Miro 1979, Plate VI). These structures occupy an area which was in use from the sixth century (*ibid.*, 714) and it is unclear to what extent their layout was already established at that date. Little information is available about the architecture or finds, but the plans (Figure 46) suggest that there are a number of similarities between these and contemporary structures from Greece itself.

Both houses are approximately the same size, with areas of around 230 m^2, and the locations of the walls and doorways are reasonably clear. In each case the entrance leads directly into a courtyard to the south of the house. In house 1 there appears to have been no attempt to screen the entrance from the court, although there would have been no direct line of sight into the suite of three principal rooms, which were entered through a door further to the west. These rooms were arranged with one large rectangular chamber (35) giving separate access to two small, square chambers behind, and De Miro compares this arrangement with the *pastas* seen at Olynthos (De Miro 1979, 714), although the rectangular room is relatively large and deep, and the rooms behind are small. On present evidence the height of the wall separating 35 from the court cannot be determined, but on the analogy of the two houses from Thasos discussed in Chapter 5, it may well have consisted of a high wall rather than a low foundation with a colonnade above. The remainder of the rooms are entered from the court, and include a large square chamber beside the entrance which is interpreted by De Miro as a shop (*ibid.*), although no evidence for this is given.

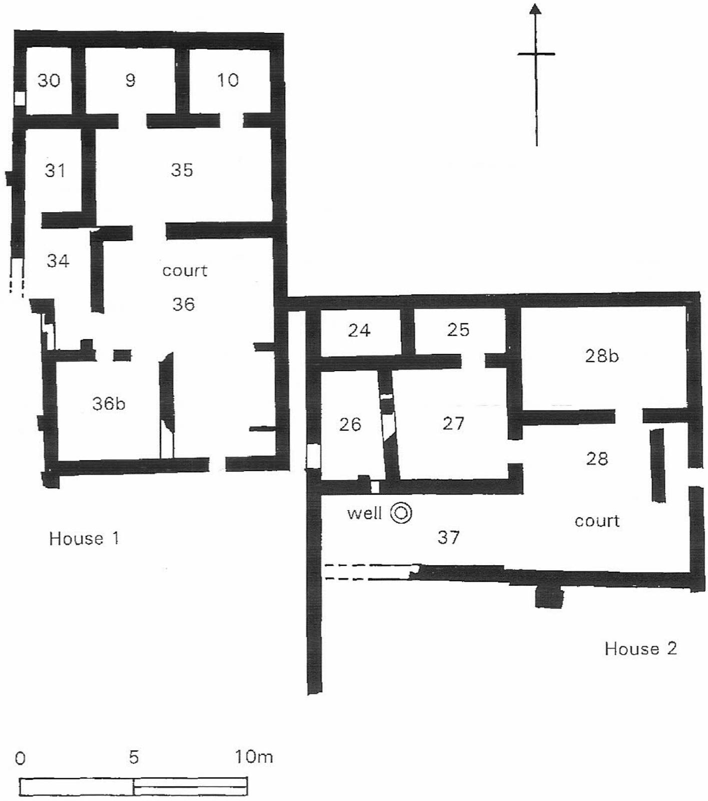

Figure 46. Plan of houses I and II, Agrigento

House 2 is entered from the east, rather than the south, and the building plot on which it stands is elongated from east to west, rather than north to south. Despite these differences, however, the house preserves the same general pattern of organisation, with the main rooms to the north and an open court to the south. Traces of a line of masonry inside the door may be an indication that some sort of porch or screen wall was used in order to block the view from the street into the L-shaped court beyond when the door was open. Inside the street door, a large rectangular room was entered independently through the court. Although the size and position of this room make interpretation as an *andron* tempting, the room has no architectural features which would support such a hypothesis. The remaining four rooms formed a suite consisting of a large square chamber giving onto the court, with three smaller rooms behind and to the side. These must have been very dark since their position would not have allowed light to penetrate from the court, and at least two of the three faced onto the walls of neighbouring buildings only two metres or so away, giving little prospect of lighting from windows onto the outside.

These two houses both offer a similar picture: each was effectively divided into an outer area consisting of the court, a large room next to the door (and in the case of house I, two further rooms also entered from the court), and an inner area consisting

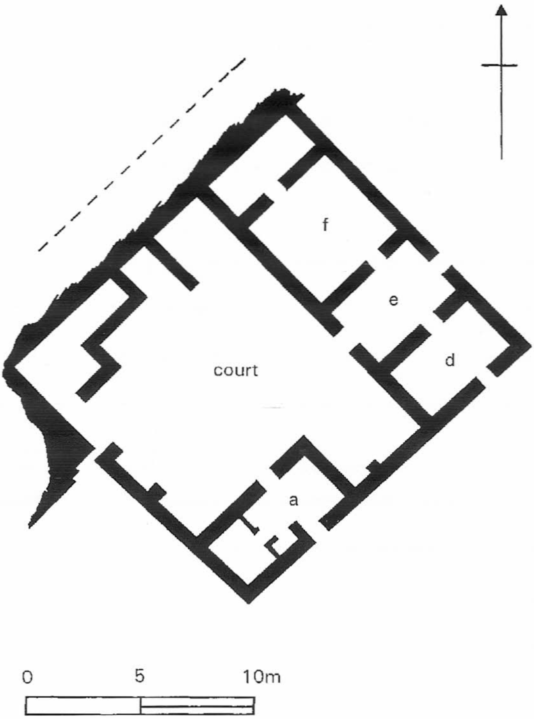

Figure 47. Plan of the house of the lions (phase 1), from the Marasa south area of Locri Epizefiri

of a further three or four interconnected rooms. This segmentation of space recalls divisions already noted in the context of the Greek mainland, although in this instance there is insufficient evidence to suggest the nature of the role played by each of the two sections. Nevertheless, this arrangement, together with the use of a single entrance and, in the case of house 2, the visual isolation of the street door, suggest that similar social conventions may have been operating to those suggested in the context of Greece itself, involving the separation of family members from outsiders.

A single house, the house of the lions, in the Marasà south area at Locri Epizefiri on the Italian mainland, follows a different pattern of spatial organisation (Figure 47). It was first built in the mid-fourth century and the excavators identify four phases, the latest dating to the first half of the third century BC (Barra Bagnasco 1992, 18–19, 39, 42). The house is oriented north-east–south-west, abutting a fortification wall on its north-western side (*ibid.*, 19 with note 77). In its first phase it occupied an area of around 280 m², which is somewhat larger than the Agrigento houses but comparable to those at Olynthos. Much of this space was taken up by a large open court on the south-west side. The major rooms were to the north-east and entered sequentially through each other, with only one of them opening onto the court. Unusually, there were several street entrances: one led via a roofed lodge (a) into the court, with the door to the street and that into the court facing each other on the same alignment. Two further doors both opened directly from the street into the main range of rooms, one on its south-east side (d) and the other on the north-east (e). The largest room (f) is identified as an *andron*, on the basis of its plaster walls and tiled floor, which leaves space around the walls, apparently for couches (*ibid.*, 27–29), although these would seem not to have been of an equal width all the way around the room. In this phase the number of street doors, and the lack of any apparent attempt to block lines of sight between the interior and exterior, suggest that there was little attempt to control access to the house. The provision of only two rooms not also used as corridors, one of which was the large '*andron*' and the other a rather small space, raises the possibility that the '*andron*' may have been used as a general living room, as well as a space for entertaining guests. At any rate, the circulation patterns suggest that it would have been a challenge to achieve much separation between individuals within the domestic context, and in particular to have any degree of control over domestic activity from a single location.

In subsequent phases the patterns of circulation between interior and exterior and around the house itself changed dramatically, although the positions of the rooms themselves remained largely unchanged. By the final phase (belonging to the mid-third century) one of the street entrances into the northern range of rooms had been blocked. The entrance into the court remained, although the lodge had disappeared. In room e, a partition wall had been constructed which blocked lines of sight from the street into the rest of the house. In the court a *pastas* had been constructed, running along the main range of rooms, which was decorated with painted plaster, and a well would have provided water for household tasks (*ibid.*, 40). The main rooms themselves had been given their own separate doors off the *pastas*, and no longer intercommunicated. By this time there may also have been a second storey above the rooms of the ground floor, reached via a staircase at the west end of the *pastas*, and the rooms entered from a balcony running above it (*ibid.*, 46f). The house had therefore undergone a dramatic change and by the mid-third century had come to resemble the single-entrance, courtyard house much more closely. The court by now played a much larger role in communications around the house, so that it would have been easier to supervise activity from here. Nevertheless there were still two separate entrances to the house and this, together with an apparent lack of any device to block lines of sight into the court, still suggests that contact between the occupants of the house and the outside world was freer than in most of the households discussed in Chapter 5.

A further pattern is found in some rather smaller houses at Herakleia Minoa (Figure 48). Here three adjacent houses dating to the late fourth to early third century have been excavated in the area south of the theatre. Two are of equal size, with areas of just under 150 m^2, while the third is larger, with an area of about 250 m^2 (De Miro 1979, 717–719). In each case a space identified by De Miro as a court or *atrium* (*ibid.*, 717) is located in the centre of the house and is entered via a corridor from the road to the south, while the large main rooms are on the northern side. Streets run along both north and south walls, and a narrow passage separates two small semi-detached houses from the third, larger one. The better preserved of the

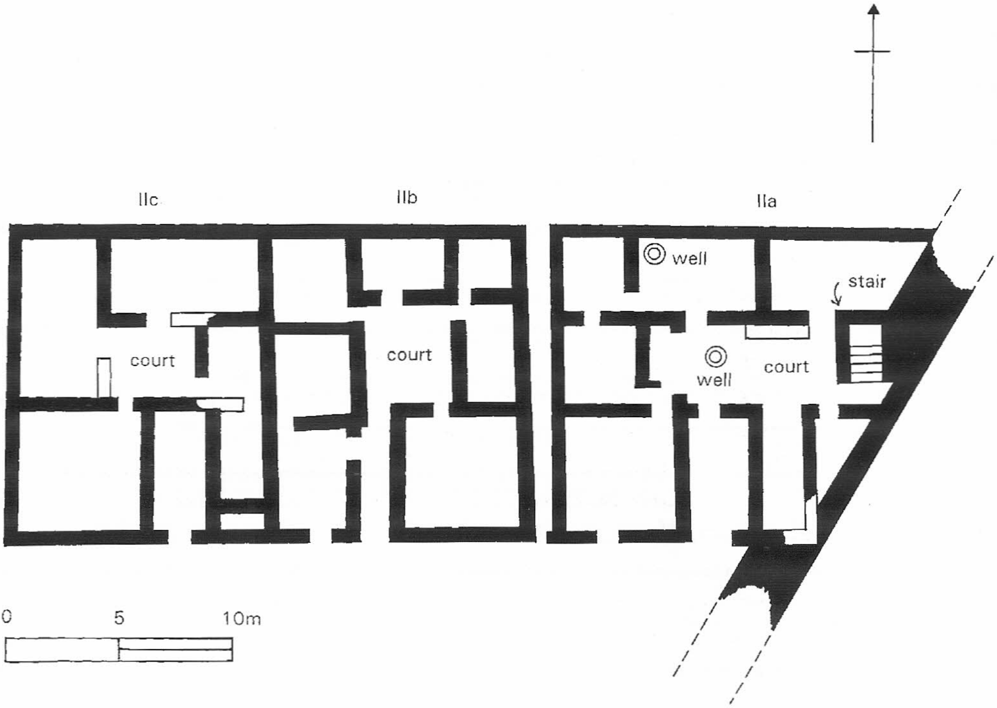

Figure 48. Plan of the houses near the theatre at Herakleia Minoa

two small houses is the eastern example, house b. Access to most of the rooms was via the central open space, although a second street entrance gave into what may have been a shop (*ibid.*, 718), which also had a door onto the corridor leading to the court, and had a second chamber behind. Although no staircase seems to have been located, fallen masonry suggests that there was an upper storey (*ibid.*). This material includes painted stucco together with mosaic flooring, indicating that the upper rooms were richly decorated. On this basis they have been interpreted as living quarters, with the plain ground floor functioning as service quarters and store-rooms (*ibid.*, 718). It is unclear, though, to what extent this represents a modification of the original pattern of occupation: the decorative fragments fall broadly into the category of the First Style which is difficult to date precisely and may go back to the fourth century (Ling 1991, 12), although the house continued to be occupied into the second century (De Miro 1979, 720).

It has been suggested that in both houses b and c the central space may have been roofed and had only a small, central opening like that of a Roman-style *atrium*, rather than being a court in the usual sense. Finds from the fallen upper storey in the court of house B, and the lack of a cistern in either court, are quoted in support of this argument (*ibid.*, 717–719), as is the ease with which such small areas could have been roofed. But unlike the other ground-floor rooms, which have beaten earth floors, these central areas are paved implying a need for weatherproofing. The presence in the court area of material from the upper storey could perhaps be explained by the gradual collapse of the upper storey, funnelling debris sideways.

Originally, the larger house, house a, had a similar layout, but it was truncated by the construction of a fortification wall during the second half of the third century and details of its organisation are somewhat obscured by its conversion into a group of shops (De Miro 1979, 719). It is clear, however, that here, too, internal space was arranged around a large central area. To the west there seems to have been an alcove which, in the final phase of the house at least, was occupied by a built architectural feature and may have accommodated some sort of domestic activity or storage facility. There were eight different rooms, including a shop and service rooms to the south and the main rooms to the north. As in house b, one entrance opened into a corridor leading to the central space, and a further one gave into a large neighbouring room which may have been a shop. At first sight house a seems to have allowed less control than its mainland Greek contemporaries over communications between the house and the outside world and over movement around the house. In its preserved state, anyone entering the building could have passed through the side room and reached the northern two rooms without passing through the court proper. Once in the north-western corner room, it would have been possible to move directly to the larger room to the east. In fact, however, the connection between the two northern rooms may be governed by the fact that the corner room does not abut the court and cannot therefore open onto it, and movement along this route may still have been overlooked from some parts of the court.

In short, the evidence from Herakleia Minoa suggests that some control over movement around the house could have been exercised, although there is no evidence to suggest that any attempt was made to separate the interior of the house from the street door. Insufficient evidence is available to suggest how the space in the court may have been used, although the architectural features of the western alcove suggest that the court in house a may have served for domestic activities, a pattern familiar from the single-entrance, courtyard house.

A rather different pattern of spatial organisation is found at Monte Iato, in northern Sicily. Here a single house, peristyle house 1, has been completely excavated (Dalcher 1994), while a second similar structure is in the process of excavation and soundings in other areas of the site have revealed the presence of three further houses (Isler 1991, 71; Isler 1993, 21–26; Isler 1994, 36–42; Isler 1995, 31–37). House 1 merits detailed consideration because of the excellent state of preservation (the walls stand to over four metres in places, despite some Mediaeval building activity on the site), which gives an insight into what the superstructure of the less well-preserved houses may have been like. House 1 seems to have been occupied in one form or another for around four centuries, after its construction at around 300 BC (Isler 1990, 18; Isler 1991, 70; Dalcher 1994, 82). In the present context it is the first phase of occupation, dating to between 300 and 200 BC, which is important.

During this earliest phase the house occupied a ground area of approximately 665 m² (Figure 49), and the living space this provided would have been augmented by an upper storey covering all of the house except for an open court. Including this

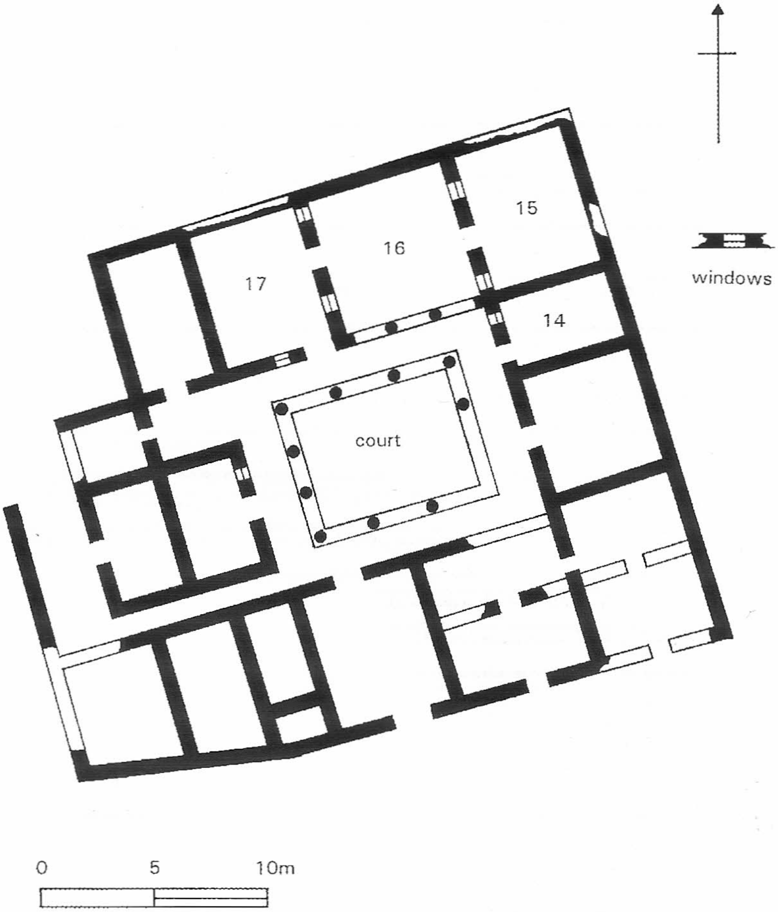

Figure 49. Plan of peristyle house 1, Monte Iato, phase 1

upper floor there would have been about 1,290 m² of living space (Dalcher 1994, 152). The original entrance probably lay on the west side of the house (*ibid.*, 23), approaching the interior via a dog-leg corridor. An additional entrance at the south was added at an early date, leading through a large vestibule and a single peristyle court at the centre of the house. The street door and the inner door into the peristyle were not located directly opposite each other and this would have meant that little of the interior could have been seen from the street even when both doors were open. A further entrance led into a dye-working complex which included three or perhaps all four of the rooms in the south-east corner of the house (*ibid.*, 17, 21f, 28f).

Inside the house the peristyle was elaborately decorated, making use of Doric columns on the ground floor and Ionic in the upper storey (*ibid.*, 19). The paved open area in the centre was surrounded by the colonnade which, like almost all the surrounding rooms, originally had a *cocciopesto* floor (*ibid.*, 20). The most elaborate rooms lay to the north and included a group of three interconnected chambers leading off a central room (16) which was open to the court on its south side, but for two columns. The two side rooms have been interpreted as *andrones,* one of which would have housed seven couches and the other nine (*ibid.*, 32). In both cases the door leading from (16) is off-centre, although there is no trace of any kind of raised border which might have supported couches. The presence in the western room of a second door which led directly out into the peristyle would have interrupted the arrangement of any couches. On the east side of the court to the south of this group lay two further rooms of which one (14) is suggested by the excavators to have been a kitchen (*ibid.*, 17), although no traces of cooking are reported.

The excellent state of preservation of this house means that the relationship between these aspects of the plan and the architecture of the superstructure can be explored. Of particular significance is the fact that the height of the walls allows the positions of the windows to be observed. Only a few of the rooms were provided with windows, and most of the natural light entering the interior must have come through the doorways, so that the doors must customarily have been left open. Where windows are present they all face inwards into the peristyle. A few rooms, which did not open onto the court and therefore received only secondary light, must have been very dark.

This house exhibits some devices which may indicate a characteristic pattern of social relations: contact between the house and the outside world seems to have been limited in the earliest phase, with care taken to ensure that the interior was not overlooked from the street. This tendency is confirmed by the locations of the windows, which, as the plan shows, are placed only on interior walls. The use of only a single court is unusual in a house of this size, and would have meant that activity within the house could have been effectively monitored from a single location. The low positions of the windows in the walls would have made it possible to look out from the rooms into the peristyle and to observe the activity taking place there. It would also have been possible to look the other way, from the peristyle into the interior of the house (*ibid.*, 20), although the view would have been restricted by the size of the aperture, and the darkness of the interior.

A similar pattern of spatial organisation is seen in the houses at Solunto (Phoenician Solous), in north-western Sicily (Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 31–34). Although the city was subject to Punic influence, it also shows strongly Hellenised characteristics (Martin and Vallet 1980, 348; Italia and Lima 1987, 67) and the architecture of the houses does parallel what has been seen elsewhere. At least seven houses have been excavated and were originally dated by their excavators to the fourth century. More recently they have been argued to be of second-century date on architectural grounds (von Sydow 1984, 350–351; Wilson 1990, 76). Because of the limited information which has so far been published, and the ambiguity over the date at which the excavated houses were originally laid out, the organisation of space is discussed only briefly here.

The houses are terraced into a steep hillside and each one is on two or three levels (Italia and Lima 1987, 65). They are grouped in blocks of identical size, although some incorporate only six houses while others consist of eight. This means that the plots of the individual houses vary in area between 400 m^2 and 540 m^2 and may

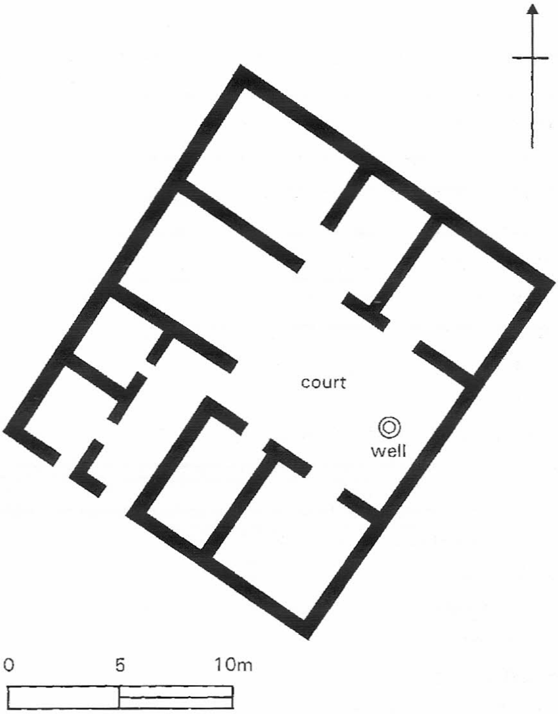

Figure 50. Plan of house VII, Solunto

indicate some degree of economic and perhaps also social stratification amongst the occupants of the city. An example of the pattern of organisation in phase I is unit VII, which covers an area of about 320 m² (Figure 50). The house has two doors leading off the street on its south side: one opens into a small room interpreted as a shop, while the main door leads via a dog-leg corridor into a single central court. This court housed a cistern and seems to have been the location of household activities (*ibid.*). Two groups of rooms lead off here on the north and south sides.

Italia and Lima draw parallels between these houses and the Greek *pastas* house (*ibid.*, 67), although the plans themselves do not offer any evidence of a portico (*ibid.*, Figure IX). In contrast with what has been suggested for the Greek *oikos*, however, they interpret these as units which housed agnatic family groups, where different nuclear families lived in separate room clusters, sharing some facilities (*ibid.*, 68). Nevertheless, it is possible to see a number of similarities between this house and houses already discussed from both Greece and Greek cities in Sicily. Architectural devices such as the dog-leg corridor which protects the court from being overlooked from the street, and the pattern of articulation of the rooms, which, with one exception, are entered from the court and do not interconnect, are features which are consistent with the creation of a private environment and with the pattern of social relations outlined above in Chapter 4. For a clearer picture of social behaviour in these houses we will have to await more information about the architecture and finds from the houses, which will offer a detailed picture of patterns of activity.

In sum, although there is no real evidence for the nature of housing in Sicily during the early fourth century, by the middle of the century there is material which suggests that some of the influences on housing in Greece itself were also important here. For example similar architectural devices were sometimes used in order to ensure the integrity of the interior of the house from the world outside (as at Monte Iato). Possible differentiation in terms of size and decoration between houses within a single settlement (as at Solunto) suggests that houses may reflect differences in the economic and perhaps even the social status of their occupants. Nevertheless, as is the case with the fifth century, the available evidence is limited so that it is impossible to generalise, and it is also clear that there was considerable variation between the houses at different sites.

Houses of third-century date

The third century saw a strengthening of the trend towards construction of houses organised in a similar way to their counterparts in Greece itself. The larger number of excavated examples also offers a somewhat better picture. One of the best sources of evidence is the second city at Megara Hyblaia. The Archaic settlement was destroyed in 483 BC and the area left unoccupied until it was resettled in 340 BC. This new city was laid out with courtyard houses organised in *insulae* on a grid which respects the two diverging main streets of the old plan. Nothing is known of the form or even the location of the original fourth-century houses from this phase, since the area underwent a substantial programme of rebuilding in the Hellenistic period (Vallet *et al.* 1983, 170, 172f) before a final destruction in 213 BC. It is the houses of this Hellenistic phase which are discussed here.

Eight wholly or partially excavated Hellenistic houses are known from the site.[1] Although a detailed publication of this phase has not yet appeared, plans and brief descriptions are available in Vallet *et al.* 1983. The houses vary considerably in size, and stair-bases found in small as well as large houses suggest that an upper storey, or at least roof space, is likely to have been used on a regular basis (for example in houses 49,19; 23,24 and 30,11). Amongst complete examples of the relatively small structures is house 30,11 (*ibid.*, 81–83), which covered an area of over 300 m² (Figure 51). In its preserved state this house had three entrances from the street, making the domestic environment relatively accessible from the outside. One entrance, to the north, gave into a double suite which may have been shops but which were also linked with the main part of the house. A second, to the south, led into a square room, paved with *opus signinum*, which also led to the main part of the house. The main entrance, however, must have been through the central door which opened onto an open court. This court was the key feature in the organisation of the house and the major route of communication between the suites of rooms. There was also a staircase which led from here to an upper storey.

At the other end of the size range lies house 49,19 (*ibid.*, 45–48) which must originally have covered an area of 1,000 m² or more (the southern limit of the house may not have been defined: *ibid.*, Figure 34). The house has a total of at least twenty-three rooms (Figure 52), which are arranged around two open courts, recall-

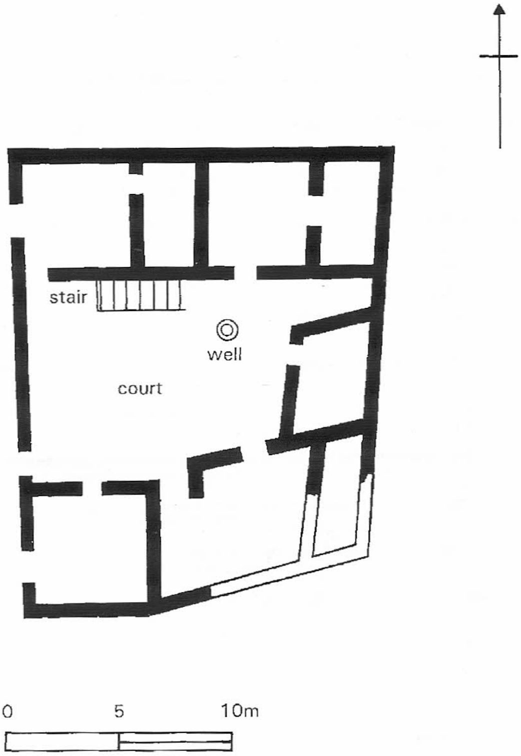

Figure 51. Plan of house 30,11, Megara Hyblaia

ing the double courtyard pattern of organisation of houses discussed in Chapter 5. The main entrance seems to have been located on the eastern side, leading through an antechamber into a large court (a) which was furnished with colonnades on two and a half of its four sides. Because the street door and the door into the court are positioned so that they are not directly opposite each other, there would have been no view from the street into the court even when both doors were open. Opposite the street entrance is a large room with an *opus signinum* floor (j). This is interpreted by the excavators as an *andron* (*ibid.*, 47), although it lacks an off-centre doorway and emplacements for couches, which are often characteristic of rooms with this function. Rooms d, e and l also have decorative *opus signinum* floors, although the shape of room d and the presence of more than one doorway in (j) and (e) make them different from *andrones* and suggest that their uses were not identical. Similar unfamiliar ways of articulating decorated rooms are also found in other houses. In some instances (for example room g in house 22,23) areas which appear from their decoration to be dining rooms are flanked on each side by a subsidiary room, apparently reversing the *andron*–anteroom arrangement by making the main room the first to be entered. (This combination of main decorated room and two side-chambers is also found at Morgantina, discussed below (pp. 147–148), and at Delos, where the houses are of second century-date or later: Bruneau 1968, 640.)

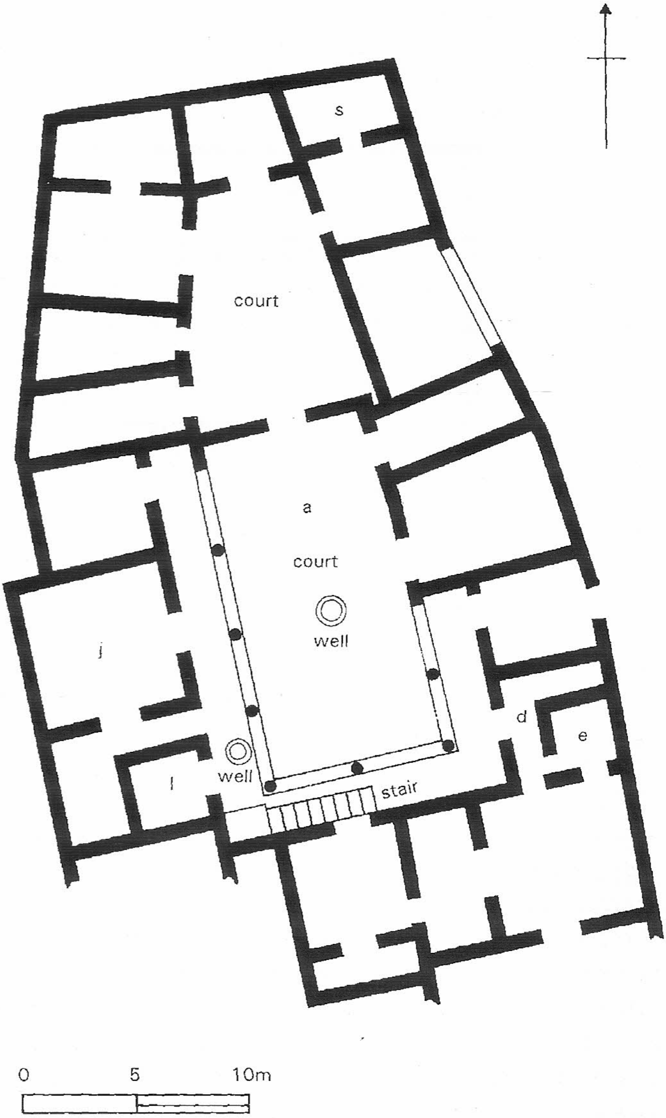

Figure 52. Plan of house 49,19, Megara Hyblaia

A partition wall separates the court from a second court to the north, which lacks evidence of a portico, and shows no evidence of decoration, at least in its final phase. Room s, which has a paved floor, suggests that tasks performed here required a more substantial floor than the beaten earth which is found in most of the other rooms. On analogy with some of the houses already discussed, this may indicate that this space was used for washing. It seems possible that here, as with the double courtyard houses of the Greek mainland, the two courts allowed a division between the spaces used for household activities and those used for entertaining. It is not clear at what date a second court began to be a regular feature at Megara Hyblaia and in this house it represents a late phase of an earlier building (Vallet *et al.*, 1983, 47). As is also the case in Greece itself, this development takes place in parallel with the introduction, in the larger houses, of more than one richly decorated room, apparently for the purpose of entertaining.

In sum, domestic space at Megara Hyblaia is centred around one or two open courts, with access to individual rooms being via this area where practical. Some additional doorways between rooms are also provided, often where placing an entrance to a corner room or a space behind a staircase was impractical directly from the court. In general, however, movement between most of the different rooms could have been observed from most of the court or its adjoining rooms. Ease of access to these houses from outside is difficult to assess since in most cases the perimeter walls are not completely preserved. In at least some cases, however, there seems to have been more than one street entrance, although these usually seem to lead into the court and would have allowed only limited freedom of access to the house as a whole. In the double courtyard house, access to the inner area which may have been used for domestic activities is controlled by the outer, more public section. Such measures are comparable to mainland Greece and suggest that similar social priorities may have been operating, involving a concern for control over contact between the household and the outside world. The importance given to the orientation of the rooms, which plays a major role in many of the settlements discussed in Chapter 5, is difficult to judge here. The excavated houses are not consistent in their orientation, and the northern area of each is less frequently the location of the most highly decorated rooms than is the case in Greece. In house 49,19 the rooms in the northern area are small and undecorated and seem therefore to represent service quarters, although this may be the result of the remodelling and not part of the original design.

Parallel patterns of domestic spatial organisation are to be found at Morgantina in central Sicily, which was a Hellenised Sikel settlement (Tsakirgis 1995, 125–131). The city is spread across two hills, with a grid plan in the western sector, while the eastern area is less regular (Bell 1980; Tsakirgis 1988, 41). A total of twelve houses have been completely excavated and another twelve partially revealed, ranging in date from the early third to the late first century BC (Tsakirgis 1988, 2).[2] Most of the excavated houses lie on the western hill. As at Megara Hyblaia and Solunto, the plots were variable in size, despite the standardised dimensions of the *insulae*, and this implies economic and perhaps social stratification similar to that suggested above in the context of Solunto. Tsakirgis makes frequent comparison with earlier houses and draws explicit parallels with the houses at Olynthos, although the major points of comparison relate to architectural detail rather than to major features of spatial organisation (Tsakirgis 1988, 459–461). In fact Morgantina exemplifies many of the features described above as being particularly characteristic of Hellenistic sites. The final publication of the houses has yet to appear, so it is not possible to comment on the distribution of finds, but some suggestions can be made about the organisation of domestic activities, based on the architectural features and the work done by Tsakirgis in her doctoral thesis (Tsakirgis 1988, 210–228).

An example of one of the older, larger houses is the house of the official (Stillwell and Sjöqvist 1957, 167–173, 170; Stillwell 1963, 166–168; Sjöqvist 1964, 144; Tsakirgis 1988, 210–228), originally constructed in the third century and occupied, with some alterations, into the first century (Tsakirgis 1990, 430). As with the larger houses at Megara Hyblaia, space is organised around two open courts. In phase 1 (Figure 53) there was a single entrance on the east side of the house, which gave onto a columned entrance hall. From here there was a choice of three routes which led into different parts of the house. To the right was an isolated chamber, much altered in subsequent phases of occupation. To the left lay the decorated south court and its surrounding rooms, which Tsakirgis suggests include a selection of dining rooms, although decorated floors are no longer extant in the largest (*ibid.*, 212–216). The largest area of the house, organised around the northern court, lay to the right of the entrance. Tsakirgis argues that this court (which in the first phase of the house was a *pastas*, and was later converted to a peristyle: *ibid.*, 218), served as a domestic area. It was here that water could be drawn from a cistern on the south side of the court, and finds offer evidence of domestic activities including food preparation (room 10: *ibid.*, 219). The form of a further large area, room 17, is uncertain, and it is debated whether this formed a third open court or whether it was roofed (*ibid.*, 221). Either way, this space must have played a role in movement around the house, since further rooms opened off it.

The degree to which space in this house is segmented parallels examples seen at some other sites. Location of the domestic quarters in one area of the house and the more formal rooms in another suggests that there was a desire to keep these types of activities separate. This would have meant that movement around the individual sections of the house would have been difficult to monitor from a single location, although contact between the two halves seems to have been limited to a single route to the west of the entrance area, so that movement between them could have been restricted. The provision of only a single entrance would have meant that, in addition, contact between the occupants of the house and the outside world could have been limited. The pattern of organisation, with service quarters to the north and an area which may have been used to entertain visitors to the south, is comparable to that seen in house 49,19 at Megara Hyblaia, although the house of the official has a more complex plan with more suites of rooms reached in series. The use of mosaic floor decoration in what seems to have been the domestic area, even in the earlier phases of the house (Tsakirgis 1989, 400), represents an unusual feature.

A rather different pattern of organisation is found in six excavated houses in the Centocamere area of Locri Epizefiri. This area of the city was occupied from the Archaic through to the Hellenistic period. The last of four building phases, which can be reconstructed most reliably, dates to the late third and early second centuries (Barra Bagnasco 1989, 11). Details of domestic organisation are clearest in the most extensively excavated areas of housing, *insulae* 2 and 3. Here, the general organisation and appearance of the houses in the later third century have been reconstructed (see Costamagna and Sabbione 1990, 241–243). In many cases, however, the locations of doorways cannot be reconstructed because the threshold blocks are missing

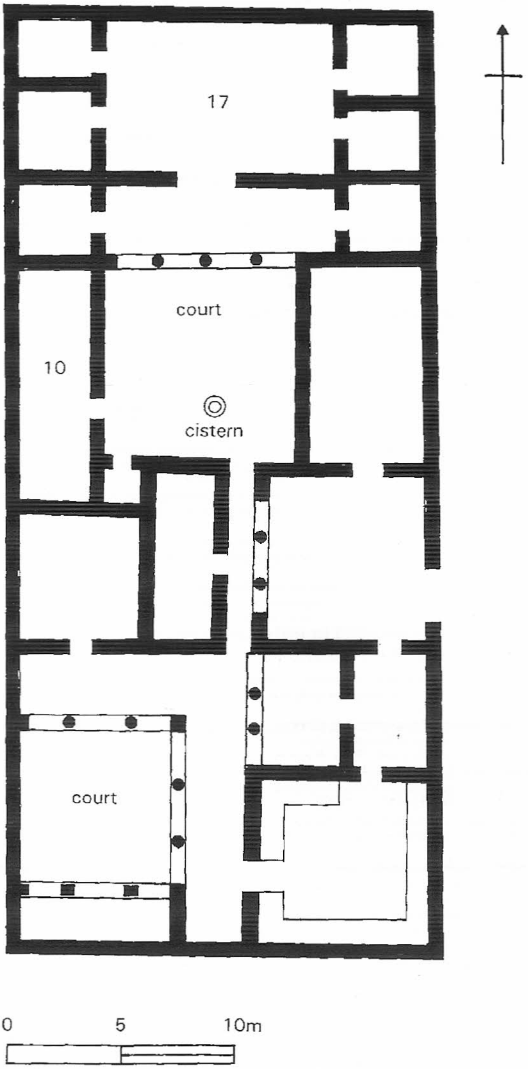

Figure 53. Plan of the house of the official, Morgantina (phase 1, third century)

(they may have been taken and used as building materials after the abandonment of the site), or because the state of the walls themselves is too ruinous. This means that it is impossible to discuss patterns of circulation in detail.

The houses vary in area between approximately 130 m² (house B) and over 250 m² (house D) (Barra Bagnasco 1989, 359 and 360), and there seems to have been considerable variability between houses in internal organisation. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a few common features. House G (Figure 54) is organised around an open court. Access was presumably from the street at the south-west, and the rooms lay on the other sides of the court. Costamagna and Sabbione reconstruct

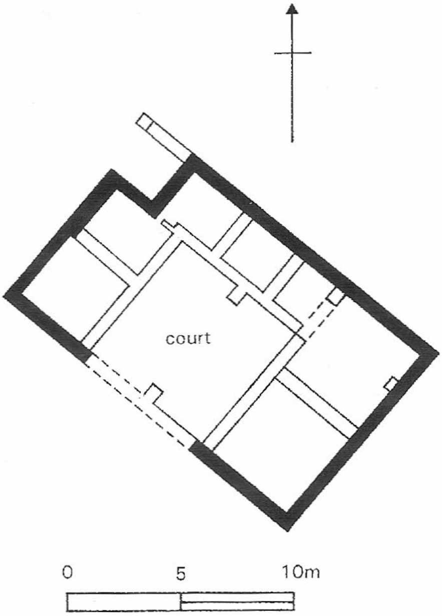

Figure 54. Plan of house G in insula III, level IA (second half of the third century) from the Centocamere area of Locri Epizefiri

some kind of trellis or lightweight roof over the north-western part of the court, perhaps in the manner of a *pastas* (Costamagna and Sabbione 1990, 241).

Preservation of these houses is not good enough for detailed conclusions to be drawn about the social pressures which may have been operating to shape the domestic environment at Locri Epizefiri, although some inferences can be made on the basis of the evidence which does survive. The houses are much smaller and less lavish than the larger structures at Morgantina, Megara Hyblaia and Solunto. Nevertheless, there is evidence of variation in house size. This suggests a similar tendency towards differentiation between households in terms of wealth, which may also extend to social distinctions, although these are difficult to confirm based on the current archaeological evidence. The relatively small size and lack of obvious signs of decoration are important in suggesting that alongside the larger, more lavish houses, smaller more modest houses continued to be occupied.

In sum, housing in this region during the third century shows a number of similarities with housing in Greece itself during this period: the use of a double courtyard arrangement allowed the house to expand in area whilst enabling it to retain the advantages which the courtyard provides in terms of light and air. At the same time, many of these houses offer evidence of a desire to continue to separate domestic activities from dining areas and reveal devices which suggest a concern for privacy from the outside world. It is likely that many of the houses discussed stood at the top of the range and that there were also households living in much smaller, less elaborate structures, like the smaller houses found at Megara Hyblaia and those from the Centocamere area of Locri Epizefiri.

Rural housing in the hinterland of western Greek settlements

So far nothing has been said about settlement in the countryside in southern Italy and Sicily. These sites are treated separately here because they seem to offer a broader range of variation in their pattern of organisation than their urban counterparts in the area. In recent years rural sites in southern Italy, as in Greece, have attracted increasing interest, and a number of Greek farmsteads have been located by the Metaponto survey (Coleman Carter 1980; Coleman Carter 1981; Coleman Carter 1990) and by field survey in other areas, for instance in the hinterlands of Camarina (Pelagatti 1980–1981, 723–727), Gela (Adamesteanu 1958a), Himera (Bonacasa 1972–1973; Belvedere 1984–1985; Alliata *et al.* 1988; Belvedere 1988–1989) and Herakleia Minoa (Wilson 1981). Such research has been more successful in locating and dating structures than in determining their form, partly for financial reasons, but also because of problems with land ownership which have meant that although many have been partly excavated, few have been revealed in their entirety. Although these circumstances make it easiest to address questions concerning larger scale patterns of land use and changing settlement, a few general remarks can be made concerning the layout of individual farms, on the basis of a limited number of, for the most part, partially excavated sites.

Sixth- and fifth-century material has been found at some sites, for instance at Contrada Priorato, Butera (Adamesteanu 1958b, 366) (Figure 55), but the majority of coherent architectural remains date from the fourth and third centuries. An arrangement of rooms around an open court is usually adopted, with each room having separate access to the court and closed off from its neighbours. In contrast with farms in Greece itself, these structures seem far less standardised than their urban counterparts. Although the basic courtyard layout is used, orientation is variable, as is the size of the court itself. The number of rooms also fluctuates, and little information is available as to their contents at most sites, although the presence of large storage jars, and, less commonly, of grinders, is sometimes reported. There is no evidence which suggests the presence of an *andron*.

Such an apparent lack of standardisation in rural housing is interesting: the buildings can be assumed to have been residential, rather than simply field stores, because of their often large areas and substantial superstructures which imply considerable expenditure on construction and maintenance. In such isolated contexts the element of display, which becomes so prominent in Hellenistic town houses, seems to have been less important, since there is a lack of decoration. (Despite the abbreviated form of many of the reports, it seems likely that had such elaboration been present, it would have been noted by the excavators.) By its very position, a country house is less on view than one situated in an urban context. It seems likely that this greater distance from social interaction is the cause of the plain and unstandardised nature of the rural dwellings: there would have been less of a need to conform to the norms of social behaviour in the countryside, since there would have been fewer people around to observe. Thus the social pressures which, as argued above, were so instrumental in shaping the town house, are not visible to the same degree in the organisation of its rural counterpart. This also implies that the

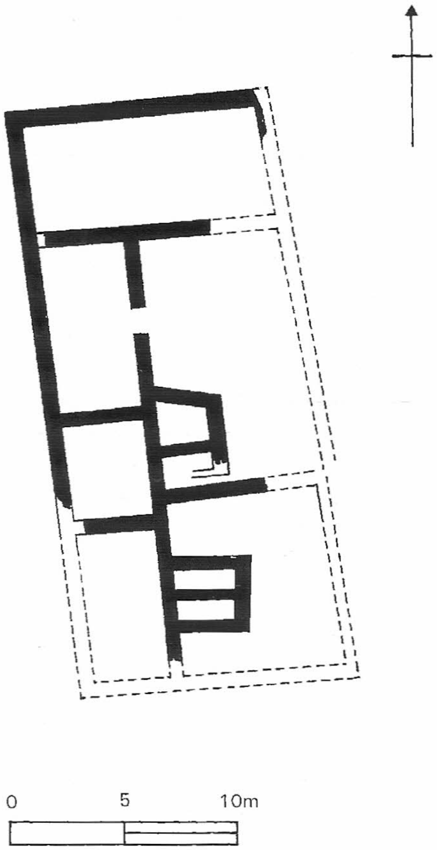

Figure 55. Plan of the farm at Contrada Priorato, Butera

attention paid to the orientation of the house was more a social than a pragmatic matter. As seen above, this contrasts with the situation in Greece itself, where layout is more standardised and where *andrones* have tentatively been identified in some rural houses (for example the Dema and Vari houses). It seems likely that the difference between rural houses in Greece and in the western colonies is a result of the fact that the landscape in some areas of Greece itself seems to have been very densely settled in Classical times (for example in Boiotia: Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, 139–144; in Attica: Lohmann 1993, *passim*; and in the Argolid: Jameson *et al.* 1994, 383–394). This would have meant that neighbours would have been closer to each other and social interaction may therefore have been more frequent than was perhaps the case in the west.

Domestic spatial organisation in western Greece: an overview

Only a few examples of Greek houses of fifth-century date are known from the area, and their internal organisation shows a high degree of variability. Following a period of around fifty years for which little or no evidence is available, some of the urban houses of the second half of the fourth century began to show more similarities with structures found on the Greek mainland, although there was still a greater degree of variability. A gradual tendency amongst the west Greek houses to become more like their mainland counterparts through time is illustrated by the changes taking place in the house of the lions at Locri Epizefiri, which gradually comes to look more like a familiar *pastas*-type house (albeit one with two entrances). Of the three patterns of spatial organisation identified in Chapter 5, the most frequent type, the single entrance, courtyard house, can be identified, for example at Agrigento and Herakleia Minoa. There are, however, no clear examples of the *Herdraum* house, either in the fourth century or later, in the third. In addition, there are a number of structures which do not fit in with the organisational typology drawn up with reference to the mainland material. In the country, in particular, spatial organisation was less standardised, although the variety of forms represented and the limited number of examples available for study, prevent these structures from being grouped into typological categories. The third century witnessed the appearance of the house-type identified in the early to mid-fourth century with reference to mainland Greece, namely the large, double-courtyard house, as seen, for instance, at Megara Hyblaia and Morgantina.

The western Greek houses show many similarities to the houses already discussed in Chapter 5. Some of the architectural devices identified as ensuring the privacy of the household are present, including screen walls separating a single street door from the interior of the house, as at Agrigento, Locri Epizefiri (Marasà south) and Megara Hyblaia, and an absence of large exterior windows which would have enabled the interior to be overlooked from the street, as at Monte Iato. Inside, patterns of circulation are often controlled by the use of the court as a route for communication around the house. In addition, specialised facilities for entertaining, and the double-courtyard arrangement, suggest a desire to separate domestic activity and reception of visitors. Together, these patterns indicate that in some households at least, similar patterns of social behaviour were followed to those in Greece itself, although on present evidence there are also some differences between the two. As well as the greater variability in the western houses, present evidence suggests that these households were later in adopting many of the features familiar from further east. The single-entrance courtyard house and the double-courtyard house both seem to have appeared relatively late, and there is also a lack of conclusive proof of the existence of a decorated *andron* before the third century. In addition, no house has yet been uncovered here which matches the large scale and elaborate decoration found at Pella.

In comparison with Greece itself, fewer sites are known from this area. In terms of their distribution, these offer a reasonable picture of coastal Sicily, but since only one site – Locri Epizefiri – is located on the Italian mainland, it is impossible to speak with any certainty about this area. The limited sample may partly be responsible for the apparent differences between the western Greek cities and Greece itself in the timing of the adoption of different house-types, but it is also possible that these patterns are real, and that they result from localised differences in domestic social organisation. This possibility is explored in Chapter 7.

7

House and society in the ancient Greek world

At the start of this volume a number of issues are raised which are fundamental to our understanding of Greek society, including the patterns of social life within individual households and the nature of the relationship between them and the wider communities in which they were located. In the previous three chapters archaeological evidence has been used in order to examine some of the questions raised by the *oikos* as an architectural and social unit, and to draw inferences about aspects of social relations within and between households. This final chapter places those conclusions within a more general context, returning to the questions raised in Chapter 1, and assessing how our understanding of some of the broader issues has been increased.

As highlighted in Chapter 1, the greatest obstacle to any study of Greek *oikoi* using textual sources is the limited coverage of those sources: their social and geographical biases and their silence on many issues which we would like to explore seriously hinder detailed investigation of a variety of aspects of social relations within and between *oikoi*, and prevent any discussion of the extent to which it is valid to talk about the *oikos* as a concept outside Athens. Even in the context of Athens and Attica the extent to which a concept of the private sphere had emerged as distinct from public life has been disputed due to the inconclusive and sometimes contradictory nature of the available evidence. The archaeological material presented here sheds some light on the extent and speed of the development of a concept of the private sphere, involving shared social customs, and offers evidence about how widespread that concept was in different areas of the Greek world.

Based on detailed analysis of the architecture and the distribution of artefacts at Olynthos, I have coined the term 'single entrance courtyard house', arguing that there are a number of recognisable similarities between the houses from the city, including the use of the court and *pastas* for a variety of domestic activities and the presence of a specialised room for receiving guests, which point to the influence of specific social pressures on the organisation of activity within the domestic sphere. Based on the characteristics shared by a large proportion of the houses, I have argued that the form and character of Olynthian house were dominated by a need to create a private environment and to control contact between the occupants and outsiders, and this is shown by the architectural devices used to separate the house from the street outside, and by the organisation of space within the house. As suggested in Chapter 4, a strong motivating factor in this is likely to have been a desire to regulate contact between female family members and male outsiders. Despite the importance of gender relations in shaping the organisation of the *oikos*, these houses do not conform to the traditional literary-based model of a house split into separate male and female areas. A binary division of household space is made difficult by the overall pattern of spatial organisation, in which rooms generally radiate from a central space, the court–*pastas* area, and tend not to be entered via each other. The distribution of finds suggests that women would not have been confined to a specific 'female' part of the house, but that instead they may on occasion have used most, if not all areas. A broad range of domestic utensils found in the area of the court and neighbouring colonnade suggests that these areas would have served as an extension to the indoor space of the house and that a variety of household chores were carried out here, in a pattern which was similar to the use of courtyards in traditional houses in modern Greece (for example, Sinou 1976, especially 44, 50). One area which may have been gender specific, at least on certain occasions, is the dining room, which can be plausibly identified with the *andron* represented in Greek literature. The decoration of the room suggests that this is the most likely place for the entertainment of guests. Although the *andron* is usually deliberately integrated amongst the other rooms and reached via the court, several architectural devices provide for the isolation of the occupants from the remainder of the house. This suggests a tension between the desire to bring guests into the heart of the household, and a wish to keep them separate from it, supporting the notion of some degree of control over contact between guests and household members within the domestic context.

The Olynthos material suggests the isolation of visitors from some household members, but not the wholesale separation of family members of different sexes. Rather than secluding women within particular rooms of the house, this isolation was achieved by providing facilities specifically for male guests. The term *gunaikon* presumably refers to the family area of the house, which those guests did not customarily enter. Examination of the architecture of houses from other sites, both in the area occupied by the modern Greek state and in a variety of western Greek cities, reveals a number of architectural similarities with the Olynthos houses, which can be interpreted as resulting from patterns of social behaviour and social values which were shared widely across these different communities. The interpretation of behavioural patterns at these sites based on architectural features is supported by the more limited information on the distribution of finds, particularly at Halieis.

The broad implication of these conclusions is that there was a shared concept of the *oikos*, involving common patterns of social relationships and behavioural models, including a desire to regulate contact between members of the household and outsiders, which was spread throughout the geographical area discussed. Such a pattern of behaviour suggests that a concept of privacy and of private (as opposed to public) life was already emerging by the start of the period discussed here – the late fifth century. Although this argument has already been put forward for Athens on the basis of other sources, the geographical scope of the archaeological material presented here indicates that this phenomenon was not confined simply to Athens and Attica, but that, on the contrary, it was widespread amongst the Greek communities of the regions I have discussed.

This final chapter views this conception of the *oikos* within a broader context, exploring, firstly, what differences in the physical organisation of individual houses reveal about the adaptation of social relationships within the household to suit local circumstance and, secondly, the extent to which broadly similar patterns of social relations can be inferred in all places and at all times. The discussion begins at a local level, with households in individual settlements, and moves on to consider the degree to which it is possible to talk about regional differences in patterns of social relationships within the *oikos*. The final stage is to examine the rapid and dramatic changes which took place over the two centuries discussed here, in the light of the broader social and political framework.

The applicability of the *oikos* concept among different social or economic groups

My interpretation of the spatial organisation of Greek houses draws on parallels with the architecture of recent Islamic houses, linking the origins of the desire to control the domestic environment with a concern for preserving the integrity of the household, and particularly of female members of the family, in order to uphold the honour of the male householder (see also Nevett 1994). In the Greek context this concern with female behaviour should be set against the background of a period when the populations of settlements were expanding, causing Athens, and perhaps also other communities, to take measures like those of Perikles mentioned in Chapter 1, which enabled them to restrict the benefits of citizenship to a limited group of individuals who were defined by their parentage on both the father's and the mother's side. Nevertheless, connecting this pattern of social behaviour with the customs governing political enfranchisement within a community raises the question of the status of non-citizen families, and the extent to which their social behaviour would have been influenced by the same ideal standards. Assessing economic, and particularly social, status from archaeological remains is dangerous in any context, because of the partial nature of the archaeological record and the lack of any predictable relationship between material remains and their social significance. Nevertheless, variability between houses which is observable within individual settlements, particularly at Olynthos, suggests that there are differences in the economic and social status of the occupants of the range of houses discussed here. As noted in Chapter 4, there are a number of exceptionally small houses at Olynthos where devices such as a visual barrier between the street door and the interior of the house are apparently missing. Furthermore, no trace of decoration survives in most of these structures to suggest that the house played an important role in entertaining visitors or that such households were operating at much above subsistence level. Similar houses occur sporadically at other sites throughout the period discussed here, including at Athens, indicating that the apparent differential between these and the houses of average size is not confined to Olynthos, but is part of a more widespread phenomenon. The limited amount of space available in the smallest structures and the fact that they allow only for simple patterns of circulation, would have meant that there was little scope for separating different areas or for controlling interaction between members of the household and any visitors from outside. It is possible that alternative measures could have been taken to achieve this result using perishable materials such as curtains or wooden partitions, which have not survived in the archaeological record. A group of vessels by the Penthesilea painter, which seem to show curtains (Sutton 1981, 61 and n.48), suggests that such measures were not unfamiliar in the Greek world,[1] and they would fit with the emphasis on creating visual privacy, which seems to pervade the house at this time. Nevertheless, the small size of many of the spaces involved would have made this kind of division difficult, and it is equally possible that amongst these households the ideal of separating female family members from outsiders was not pursued.

Despite the difficulties of extrapolating from such physical indications of the economic resources available to individual households in order to reconstruct social status, it seems possible that such houses include examples of the poorer households mentioned by Pomeroy (Pomeroy 1975, 73), where there were few or no slaves, and where women may have had to work outside the house in order to contribute to the domestic economy. Such a hypothesis is supported by ethnographic parallels which suggest that under such circumstances it is less likely that conventions regarding the separation of female family members and male outsiders could or would have been observed, for economic reasons. In this kind of household women would probably have led less restricted lives than their counterparts from wealthier families because their labour would have been required to contribute to the household economy, perhaps in the fields as well as at home. Such households may also have been free of one of the major social pressures operating to achieve the separation of women from male outsiders, namely the requirement of respectability in the eyes of fellow citizens, which would enable the offspring of the marriage to demonstrate his parentage and thereby be given citizenship.

Attempting to assess the proportion of households which fell into this category is difficult, although they are likely to be under-represented in the current archaeological sample for a number of reasons. Our present knowledge is partly the result of chance factors and might therefore be interpreted as offering a random selection of examples, but it is also clear that certain biases have been at work. As the case of the houses on the South Hill at Olynthos shows, irregular and less well-built examples are more difficult to reconstruct and interpret, and therefore tend to receive less attention than more regular ones. There may therefore be other similar small houses which were occupied during the period discussed here but which have not been excavated, or have not been published. It is also possible that where a house does not fit with the pattern established by the type sites, its residential function may not have been recognised. Conversely, it is also probable that the larger, more elaborate houses are over-represented because they are the most likely to have come to the attention of archaeologists and will be the most rewarding to excavate because of the intrinsic aesthetic appeal of the wall-paintings, mosaics and decorated pottery they contain. The net result of these factors is likely to be that the smaller, more irregular structures are under-represented in the current sample. Because of these uncertainties it is difficult to assess what proportion of the total socio-economic range of society is represented by the houses discussed here and it is possible that the very poorest households may not be represented at all. (Where, for example, are the multiple dwellings mentioned by some of the ancient sources? For example in some of the Delian leases (Hellmann 1994, 145) or in Aristophanes (Fragment 133; see: Vial 1984 347; Osborne 1985b 1–5; Garland 1987, 143).)

Origins and subsequent development of the Classical *oikos*

The archaeological evidence suggests that by the beginning of the period discussed here, namely the late fifth century, the single-entrance, courtyard house was already being constructed on the Greek mainland. On the basis of current information it is difficult to pinpoint precisely the moment at which this pattern of organisation emerged. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the development of Greek housing in the preceding Geometric and Archaic periods (for more comprehensive surveys see Fusaro 1982; Fagerström 1988a; Lang 1996; Mazarakis Ainian 1997), but discussion of a few key sites will serve to highlight some of their major characteristics, and to illuminate the emergence of some of the patterns of social relations identified here. The earlier period is characterised by a high degree of variability: two basic architectural types can be distinguished, although the patterns of spatial organisation in the two forms are in some ways comparable. One form is the apsidal (or more rarely, oval) house. Such structures varied considerably in size from small buildings such as Nichoria unit III.1, a tenth- or ninth-century structure which, if the complete building is represented, would have had an area of less than 16 m² (Wilkie 1983, 14) to others such as apsidal structure 70L/74L at Asine, which had an area of over 90 m² (Dietz 1982, 51–52) or Unit IV.1 phase 2 at Nichoria, which dates to the ninth century and which covers an area of almost 128 m² (Coulson 1983, 40) (Figure 56).[2] A reinterpretation of the latter sees the building as a single phase structure (Fagerström 1988b) and subjects the evidence for the use of space in the interior to detailed scrutiny, suggesting that the apse was used for storage, whilst the main room contained a hearth and evidence of eating and drinking, and spinning. An open area to the front of the house is interpreted as a space for eating and drinking in warm weather (*ibid.*, 40–42). The organisation of space here contrasts radically with what is found in the structure which succeeded it, Unit IV.5, which was about 100 m² in area (including an unroofed court) and dates to the eighth century (Coulson 1983, 52). The excavators argue that Unit IV.5 had a 'dual public and private character' (*ibid.*, 53), although Fagerström suggests a solely domestic function, with the area just inside the door being used for storage. As in the later houses, a range of domestic activities was carried out in the open courtyard at the front of the building (Fagerström 1988b, 43), although unlike the courts of its successors, this would have afforded no privacy from passers-by.

The second architectural type in use during this period is the rectilinear house, which is known from a number of sites including eighth-century Zagora on the Cycladic island of Andros (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 71–161) (Figure 57), Koukounaries on nearby Paros (Schilardi 1983; summary and list of preliminary reports in Lang 1996, 182–184), and later, in the seventh and sixth centuries at the Sicilian colony of Megara Hyblaia (Vallet *et al.* 1976, 259–324).[3] These structures can be grouped

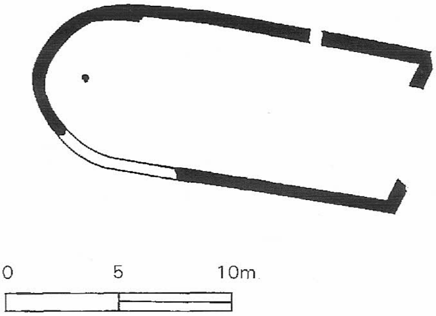

Figure 56. Plan of an apsidal house: Nichoria unit IV.1, phase 2

together in that architecturally they form a contrast with the apsidal type of building listed above. Nevertheless, they appear to vary considerably not only in terms of size and construction techniques, but also in the arrangement of internal space. The nature of many of them makes it difficult to define coherent residential units and hence to comment in detail on size or internal organisation. Nevertheless, comments can be made with respect to a few specific settlements.

Such constructions usually consisted of a small number of rooms, sometimes with an open court in front. In general terms they are either organised in a manner similar to that of the apsidal house, with one large building which was subdivided internally (as, for example, with Lathuresa XVIII: Lauter 1985, 34–6). Alternatively, they are composed of a number of free-standing units which are each entered separately from the court, and which could have been added to or abandoned as the occupants' requirements for space changed through time (as at Megara Hyblaia). At Zagora it is hard to reconstruct the divisions between households, but it seems that a mixture of these two patterns of organisation occurs, with what were initially single structures being subsequently subdivided and probably also enlarged by the addition of further units (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 157–158). This seems to have allowed for an increased separation of different types of activity, providing separate spaces for storage and for living rooms. The later phases also incorporated paved exterior surfaces which may have provided outdoor activity-areas. Because the boundaries between different domestic units are not always certain, it is difficult to tell whether these paved areas would have been enclosed, as in later houses, but it does seem that in at least some cases entry to the court could have been restricted to the residents of a small number of domestic units (for example H26/H27/H43, Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, Plan XIB, Plate 11).

This brief survey shows that houses dating as early as the eighth, seventh and earlier sixth centuries did already possess various architectural features familiar from the fifth- and fourth-century structures, such as open courts and porch structures. Nevertheless, there are also important contrasts between these early structures and their Classical successors: interior living space in these earlier houses was normally much more restricted, and the small number of rooms would have offered little opportunity for the separation of activities or individuals. Even in the larger houses,

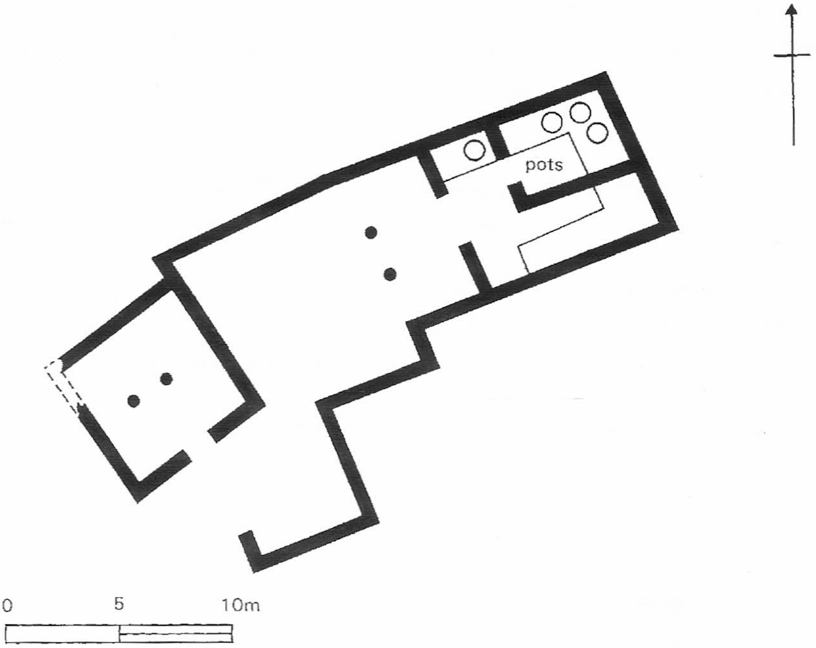

Figure 57. Plan of a rectilinear house: Zagora Unit H26/27/42/43/47

space was subdivided to a much lesser extent, and although there may have been particular areas of the large rooms which were customarily used for specific activities, those activities, and the individuals performing them, would not have been separated physically. Furthermore, although the court was often enclosed on more than one side, there seems to have been little attempt to provide the kind of private environment which, I have argued, was so important in the later houses. There also seems to have been more regional variability in the architecture of these early houses compared with their successors. In short, the organisation of domestic space does not offer any evidence to indicate that the kind of control over social contact was being exercised which I have suggested from the late fifth century onwards.

The period following this early phase, the late sixth and early fifth centuries, represents something of a chronological gap for which relatively few complete examples of Greek houses are available. I suggest that this is because the familiar single-entrance, courtyard design did not appear until the mid- to late fifth century, and that the paucity of examples from the crucial period in the sixth and early fifth centuries may well be because structures of this date are different in appearance and are more difficult to identify and to interpret archaeologically. Although by its nature this is difficult to prove because of the lack of evidence for housing during this period, there is some slight support from the material at Olynthos. As we have seen, examples of houses dating to at least as early as the beginning of the sixth century were excavated in the South Hill area (Robinson 1930, 5, 9), although no coherent plans of this early date seem to have come out of the excavation and the walls of the houses in the area in general are described as 'too confused ... to enable us to determine the individual plans' (Robinson 1946, 272–273). Even in the notebooks too little evidence is recorded for detailed conclusions to be drawn about the organisation of these houses and therefore about the patterns of social behaviour taking place within. The excavators do suggest, however, that conditions would have been cramped, with the shopkeepers and their families living above their stores (one wonders how much this picture is influenced by the Roman 'shop-houses' excavated at Pompeii), and they liken conditions in this part of the city to those in the older parts of modern Istanbul or Tunis (Robinson 1946, 279). The differences between the houses in the two parts of the city suggest that the South Hill houses may pre-date the single-entrance, courtyard house, implying that it developed during the fifth century. If this is the case, then the patterns of spatial control which I have outlined here must have been a relatively recent phenomenon, and houses constructed during the later fifth century may have been among the earliest to exhibit this kind of organisation.

The emergence of this new design suggests a corresponding change in the social pressures which helped to shape the domestic environment. One of the most notable elements of this is the separation of the occupants of the house from the outside world, already stressed above. But the increase in size also allowed for the segmentation and relative specialisation of interior space for different purposes. A range of activities, and perhaps also individuals, could now be segregated spatially within the domestic sphere. At the same time there are clear indications that a specific space – the *andron* – was provided for entertaining visitors, and social occasions could, if so desired, have been kept separate from domestic activity. Such changes are consistent with an increase in the importance of the individual in relation to the community as a whole, and with the development of a notion of private life which was distinct from the life of the community.

Towards the middle of the fourth century, a new group of exceptionally large and lavishly decorated houses appeared. (The same pattern is identified by Walter-Karydi: Walter-Karydi 1994; Walter-Karydi 1996.) These larger houses appear to have been occupied at the same time as more traditional dwellings. This represents a further progression of this trend and also introduces a degree of differentiation between households not previously documented. It is a development which can be linked with a number of political and economic changes which historians have argued were taking place during the fourth century. Our main source of historical evidence for these changes is Athens, with its legacy of documentary sources, but there is some more limited evidence that similar developments were also taking place elsewhere in the Greek world. In fifth-century Athens, although democracy gave basic political power to all citizens in the form of a right to vote in the assembly, there was no corresponding equality in economic resources to which individuals had access, and this seems to have been a source of friction between wealthy and less wealthy citizens (Ober and Strauss 1989, 237). There is some suggestion that the fourth century saw an increase in the social and political power of the wealthier members of society (Davies 1993, 226), and that this may also have been accompanied by an increase in economic inequality between rich and poor (de Ste. Croix 1983, 294). Even if, as Davies argues (Davies 1981, 36–37), economic inequality was not becoming greater during the fourth century, there is certainly evidence that in some quarters there was a perceived increase in the wealth of a tiny minority of individuals at the top of the economic scale (for example in the early fourth century Lysias 33 – with its complaint against the wealth of the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius), and that the tension between rich and poor was intensified at Athens and elsewhere (Mossé 1973, 114; de Ste. Croix 1983, 298; Davies 1984, 293). In extreme cases such as Corinth, Argos and Rhodes, similar problems seem to have led to revolts against the wealthy (Mossé 1962, 225). At the same time there were also other changes in the political sphere, which involved a decline in the traditional autonomy of individual communities and culminated in the imposition of Macedonian control, which was complete by 322 BC. The removal of the decision process from the citizen body, both at Athens and in the other cities which fell under Macedonian hegemony, has been linked by de Ste. Croix with changes in the power structures within individual communities. According to this view the wealthy seem to have supported the rise of Macedon, as a means of reducing the effective role of the citizens as a whole in taking decisions and instead concentrating the remaining political power within their own hands (de Ste. Croix 1983, 300). At the same time, written evidence suggests that public and private life became increasingly separate from each other, as personal friendships became more distinct from civic obligations with the rise of the Hellenistic monarchies (Konstan 1997b, 76).

In this context, the construction of increasingly large and elaborate houses which mimic some of the features of public buildings (most obviously in the use of columns in large peristyle courts and in their lavish decoration) may be seen as part of a strategy by which the wealthier social groups sought to differentiate themselves from their less well-off fellow citizens. The private house itself would have offered one arena in which men could compete for prestige and power, and it seems that from the early to mid-fourth century, houses were beginning to be used to display and symbolise the status of their occupants in a manner which had not previously been seen.[4] Literary evidence also picks up on this change in attitude towards domestic architecture. Demosthenes, for example, comments repeatedly on the comparative modesty of the houses of the statesmen of the preceding century as compared to the houses built by the politicians in his own day (Demosthenes *Olynthiacs* 25–26; *Against Aristokrates* 207–208). Whether or not these claims were reliable is not important; the fact is that these comments suggest that the appearance of houses and the money spent on them were an issue subject to debate, and perhaps censure, at this particular time.

Although, as stressed in Chapter 1, the exact nature and extent of the social change taking place during this period are a matter for dispute, I suggest that the transformation of domestic architecture which took place during the fourth century supports the idea that from the early to mid-fourth century the status of the *oikos* and the role of the house were undergoing a phase of rapid change in many areas of the Greek world. Even if this does not imply a corresponding decrease in participation in public life, the importance of the *oikos* was increasingly being acknowledged in the public sphere. Thus it seems that during the fourth century, within one sector of society, there was a shift in the role of the individual and of the *oikos* in relation to the wider community, so that it became justifiable to devote attention and resources to the *oikos* as a means of signalling wealth and perhaps also social and/or political status. At the same time, it seems that amongst the wealthiest households the *oikos* may have increased in importance as a setting for the reception of guests. It may be that by the third century the house had come to be considered a more respectable place in which to carry out political negotiations. This would have contrasted with past practice, when the textual sources suggest that, at Athens at least, its role had theoretically been limited to entertaining for pleasure; the idea of meetings at a private house had been linked with intrigue and the attempts of *hetaireiai* and other small groups of individuals to subvert democratic power (Fisher 1988, 1184). It may also be that the development of the house as an arena for elite display and competition was a contributory factor in the increasing tension between the richer and poorer members of society during this period.

The differences between the double- and the single-courtyard houses may well be indicative of underlying variation in the degree of control exercised over social interaction in these different households. The creation of physically separate areas for domestic activities and for receiving visitors, each with its own court, achieves an effect which is noticeably lacking in the single-courtyard houses, namely the physical separation of two different sections which might be termed the *andron* and *gunaikon*, following the ancient sources. In the double courtyard house, the pattern of spatial organisation bears comparison with Vitruvius' description of the Greek house, written in the first century.[5] Under this interpretation the inner court and its surrounding rooms would represent Vitruvius' *gunaikonitis*, while the outer court and its suites of decorated rooms his *andronitis*. A similar division could be applied in the *Herdraum* house to the inner area around the *Herdraum* itself, as contrasted with the outer area centring on the court. Nevertheless, although it is possible to apply Vitruvius' terminology in these contexts, this does not necessarily tell us about the ways in which the spaces were used. As I have argued for the single-courtyard house, to infer from their names that the two areas were used exclusively by female and male household members respectively is likely to be an oversimplification. Until detailed information is available on the distribution of finds from both these types of house, it is impossible to tackle this question, but the idea of total separation of the two genders within the domestic context runs contrary to a range of textual and artistic evidence which suggests that male and female inhabitants of the house would have come into contact with each other on a daily basis. Practical considerations together with ethnographic comparisons suggest the likelihood that, as argued in detail above in the context of Olynthos, particular rooms in a house may have been used habitually by one set of individuals more than by another, but patterns of activity will probably have changed at different times of day and depending on who was present in the house at any one time (see also Nevett 1994; Nevett 1995a). Thus, for example, the more elaborate rooms in both types of house may have been used for family occasions as well as for *symposia*, and female members of the household may have withdrawn to the inner areas only when there were unrelated guests present in the house. If, as Robinson and Graham suggest, the *andron* at Olynthos was placed so as to receive daylight from high windows facing onto the street (Graham 1953, 199), this would imply that it was used during daylight hours as well as in the evening for *symposia*, and it seems likely that it had a wider range of functions, perhaps as a family room as well as for entertaining visitors. The fact that in both double courtyard and *Herdraum* houses domestic tasks seem to have been carried out in seclusion from the remainder of the house, either in the second court or in the *Herdraum*, may have meant, however, that the habitual use of space was potentially more markedly split between family areas and areas used by guests, and that domestic activity could have taken place in the inner areas without being disturbed by the presence of visitors. Thus, these two house-types are potentially more restrictive than the single-courtyard house, and the fact that they appear at a later date might be taken as an indication that, in some areas at least, the activities of women became more tightly controlled during the fourth century. This would run counter to some of the arguments which have been put forward on the basis of documentary evidence for Ptolemaic Egypt, which suggests that in some respects women in that area during the Hellenistic period may have had more freedom than the women of Classical Athens (for example Préaux 1959, especially 171–175; Pomeroy 1984, especially 173). Nevertheless, arguing that the limitations on women's social life were maintained during the Hellenistic period is in harmony with Van Bremen's study of women's civic roles in Asia Minor, in which she argues that women continued to operate within a male framework as representatives of their families (Van Bremen 1996, *passim*, especially Chapter 8, and summarised on p. 302).

In order for a more definitive picture to emerge from the evidence of excavated housing it is necessary to await the expansion of the data-base, which will hopefully give a more detailed picture of the activities in these houses; nevertheless, some indications of social change are also offered by the continuing development of domestic space in the area in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods. A revealing site to examine in this connection is the city on the Cycladic island of Delos. The recent history of the island means that it is now uninhabited, and the ancient city seems to have been gradually abandoned during the Roman period, so that since late antiquity activity on the island seems to have been limited largely to farming by individuals living on the surrounding islands (Brunet 1990b, 7). Large sections of the city therefore remain largely undisturbed since the late Hellenistic to early Roman era, including substantial blocks of housing which have been revealed by French teams who have worked there since the late nineteenth century. The excellent standard of preservation of these structures rivals that of any of the houses discussed so far, although the finds have only been systematically recorded in the more recent excavations, so that the patterns of activity which took place within these houses are difficult to reconstruct in detail. Epigraphic evidence shows that by the period at which the majority of the surviving houses were built, namely the second century BC and later (Bruneau 1968, 640), the island had a flourishing cosmopolitan merchant

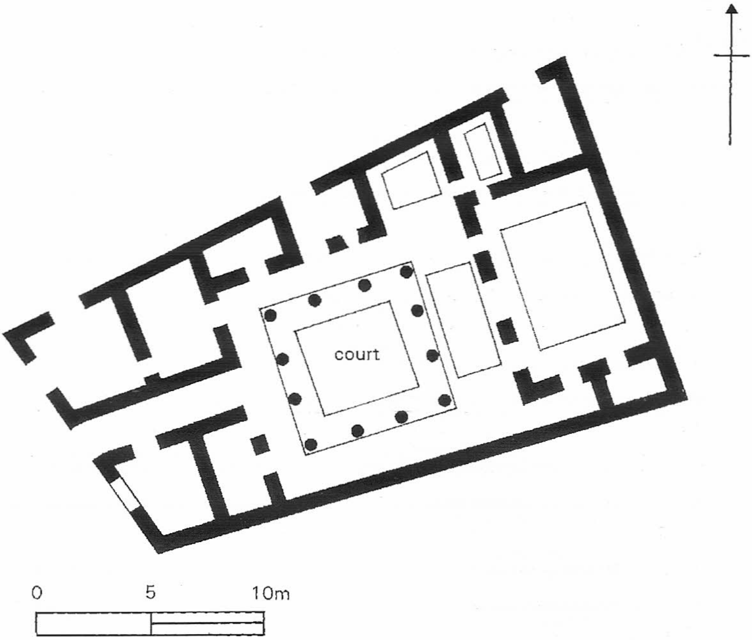

Figure 58. Plan of the house of the Trident, Delos

community which was open to influence from various different cultures including Rome.

Many of the excavated houses reflect the wealth which must have flowed into the city through its commercial activities: the architectural features include large, complex tessellated mosaic floors, painted frescoes and elegant peristyles which sometimes extended upwards for two storeys. In comparison with the most elaborate of their Hellenistic predecessors, however, striking contrasts in the organisation of interior space can be seen, even without the help of detailed information on the distribution of artefacts. Although the Delian houses continued to be organised around a central open space, the pattern of the double courtyard seen at sites such as Pella and Eretria is not found, and it seems that the role of the court was rather different from the role which it played in the earlier single court houses (see Figure 58). At Delos, the court tends to be a decorated peristyle which not only has elaborate colonnades, but where the open space is frequently filled with other decorative features such as pools, fountains and statuary. Here there seems to have been little space for the traditional role of the court and portico as the location of domestic activity. Instead, the peristyle seems to have adopted the role of the outer court or peristyle in the large Hellenistic houses, being designed to impress visitors with the wealth and status of the owner, rather than having a practical function. Because of the lack of detailed evidence about the distribution of finds, it is difficult to be more precise about the characteristics of this new pattern of organisation:[6] it is currently unclear whether domestic activities were somehow fitted in around the peristyle or whether they now took place indoors.

These houses represent a radical change of priorities in terms of the organisation of space, but the implications of this in social terms are currently difficult to unravel without more detailed information on the distribution of artefacts in a larger sample. It seems that in contrast with the earlier houses domestic activities were being assigned a lower priority in comparison with entertaining guests. Given the role of the city as a whole as a trading centre, and the possibility that some business at least would have been transacted at home, it seems natural that the householder should want to project a good impression of himself through his house. Nevertheless, the total ground area covered by the houses is not so small as to suggest that there was no room for a second, domestic court; rather it seems that a decision had been made that the kind of tasks carried out there did not need a dedicated outdoor space. The reasons for this are impossible to pinpoint with any certainty on the basis of present evidence, nevertheless there are a range of potential explanations. One possibility is that those who were responsible for domestic production were no longer deemed to need the comfort of a ventilated outdoor space in which to undertake such chores, and this might fit in with the suggestion noted above, that, contrary to what the epigraphic record appears to suggest, women's status did not improve during the Hellenistic to early Roman periods. Alternatively, there may have been changes in the roles played by individuals in the household context, with a greater proportion of the responsibility for domestic production being taken on by slaves, whose comfort was not considered important. Perhaps a more plausible explanation derives from Rauh's suggestion that for most of the year many of the houses were occupied only by slaves, transacting business on behalf of their absent owners (Rauh 1993, Chapter 5 especially 231–233), which would presumably have meant that for most of the year domestic tasks would have been performed by individuals of low status. It is also possible that the economy of the island was such that there was less domestic production taking place in urban houses and that more of the household's needs were provided either from imports or, perhaps more likely, from the nearby farmsteads which were scattered through the Delian countryside and that of the neighbouring islands of Rheneia and Mykonos (for current work on these farms, and references to previous studies, see Brunet 1990a).

In sum, by examining the single-entrance courtyard house within a broader chronological framework, the intimate nature of the connection between the organisation of Greek houses and the wider social climate is reinforced, and it becomes apparent that the single-entrance courtyard house in its different forms is closely linked with a specific conception of the *oikos* as a social unit which was lacking in pre-Classical and late to post-Hellenistic times but which prevailed in a number of communities across the Greek world during the Classical and most of the Hellenistic period. The aim of the following section is to explore the evidence for alternative patterns of social relations co-existing with the conception of the *oikos* outlined here.

Regional differences in the *oikos* concept

The oikos *in the context of communities with alternative patterns of social organisation*

In their discussion of the orthogonal plan adopted by many cities of the Classical and Hellenistic period, Hoepfner and Schwandner stress the role of the democratic ideology in shaping the urban environment in general, and in particular in producing houses of similar size and design (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, *passim*). Nevertheless, such a model is strongly influenced by the documentary evidence of Athenian society and a question remains about the nature of the domestic environment and the influences which shaped it in other communities, where the qualifications for citizenship and the mechanisms of government may have been different. My own discussion of the influences acting to shape the ancient Greek household has focused on control over contact between household members and the outside world, and raised the possibility that women may have been restricted in order to ensure the citizen status of their children and the inheritance of the *oikos* by a legitimate heir. This is also a suggestion which derives in part from what is known about the legal position of citizens at Athens, and again its relevance to other communities is uncertain.

Although the concept of citizenship may also have been relevant in other *polis* communities (autonomous 'states' with a single urban centre), its relevance to non-*polis* communities such as the *ethnos* (the looser federation of settlements generally lacking a single urban centre, see above p. 1) is uncertain. As long ago as the 1960s Drerup suggested that the architectural forms of Greek houses were linked with specific cultural sub-groups of the Greek population (Drerup 1967). Nevertheless, whether the pattern of domestic social organisation outlined here is linked specifically to the *polis* is a question which it is difficult to tackle through the current archaeological data-base. For a variety of reasons we cannot plot in detail how domestic social behaviour may have related to the wider political organisation of the settlements in which individual households were located. In many cases the excavated settlements were small and we have little or no information on their status or system of administration. Even where we do, classification is a major undertaking.[7] Furthermore, our understanding of the differences implied by the *polis/ethnos* distinction is too limited to allow practical distinctions to be made between examples of the two in all instances. The categories represent models of the most extreme differences between the types of community which existed at this time, but in reality the division between them is likely to have been much less clear-cut, with some individual settlements combining characteristics of both types (Ehrenberg 1969, 24).

One context in which to explore the pattern of social relationships in households where different social and political systems may have been operating is Sparta. Various ancient authors claim that Sparta had very different patterns of social behaviour, involving a large amount of communal living for men and relative freedom for women (see above p. 20): a study of the domestic architecture of the area could effectively address the question of whether Spartan society (and perhaps also societies in other areas of the Peloponnese) was very different from what we see amongst other Greek communities. Unfortunately, I know of no published example of a complete excavated house of this date from Sparta, nor of any excavated farmsteads from the surrounding territory. Indeed, as the distribution map of sites discussed here indicates, there is a relative paucity of published domestic assemblages of this date from the Peloponnese as a whole (see Figure 8). It is to be hoped that continuing survey and other archaeological activity in the region will one day shed light on the nature of housing there. For the moment it is unclear whether the lack of evidence should be interpreted simply as a coincidence, or whether it is more significant, pointing to differences which have made domestic structures there difficult or impossible to identify.

Despite the difficulty in identifying *ethnos*-type communities for detailed investigation, there are some signs that the model of social behaviour outlined here was of less relevance in areas where the *polis* was less firmly established. One regional difference which begins to emerge from the current evidence is a contrast between the part of Epiros in north-west Greece where the two known examples of the *Herdraumhaus* have been identified at neighbouring sites (Kassope and Ammotopos), and the remainder of the area discussed here, where the *pastas*, *prostas* and *peristyle* types are the dominant forms. Such inland areas of Epiros seem to have been relatively late in adopting the material cultural traits familiar from other parts of Greece such as Greek pottery (Hammond 1967, 423) and both of these settlements were part of the territory of the Molossian people,[8] who were ruled by hereditary monarchs. It may be, therefore, that the *Herdraum* is a localised type of structure which responds both to the Hellenising tendency of the local people and to influences imposed by the local, non-Hellenic cultural tradition. Comparing the distribution of single-entrance courtyard houses shown in Figure 8, with Snodgrass' map of areas which hosted the emergent *polis* (Snodgrass 1980, Figure 9), it also seems that the pattern is indicative of an association between the single-entrance, courtyard house and the areas which witnessed the development of the *polis*.

Adaptation of the oikos *to different areas of Greece*

On a broader scale, the evidence discussed in Chapter 5 suggests that the patterns of social relations which characterise the *oikos* as discussed here developed along broadly similar trajectories in Greece itself and in the western Greek communities. When the paths are compared in detail, however, it becomes evident that innovations in domestic spatial organisation probably appear in the west substantially later than they do in Greece itself. It would be useful to have more examples from the west, particularly from mainland Italy, but on the basis of present evidence there is currently no clear example of a single-entrance, courtyard house from the region dating to before the middle of the fourth century. As we have seen, this house-form is present in Greece at least as early as the late fifth century. Similarly, the double courtyard houses, which appear in Greece during the fourth century, are so far unknown in the west before the third century. Even bearing in mind the fact that the available sample of archaeological material, particularly in the west, is small, it does seem necessary to attempt an explanation of these differences, which if necessary can be modified or discarded in the light of information from fresh publications.

Discounting a slow rate of transmission of information from one area to the other as an explanation of this time-lag, since we know that the two areas were in close and regular contact, it is necessary to focus on whether local factors may have prevented ideas from being taken up at certain times but led to their introduction at others. With the exception of Locri Epizefiri, houses from the south Italian mainland are lacking. As far as Sicily is concerned, we know from historical sources that during the first half of the fourth century the eastern part of Sicily was politically unstable and many of the Greek cities were fighting the Carthaginians and each other, so that the area became impoverished and depopulated (Finley 1979, 91). The arrival of the general Timoleon who was sent by Corinth in 344 BC introduced widespread peace to the area. He is said to have brought with him at least 60,000 immigrants who came both from mainland Italy and from Greece (*ibid.* 99), and urban prosperity in the region was renewed. Diodorus, for example, speaks specifically of an influx of new settlers being linked with a revival of monumental building (Diodorus 16.83.1–3). This picture is in broad agreement with the archaeological evidence: finds of coin hoards suggest a general revival in the wealth of the area from around the mid-fourth century (Talbert 1974, 161–178) whilst excavation of settlement areas suggests that there was urban expansion and a new phase of building taking place in many of the western Greek cities during the mid-fourth century (Orlandini 1956, 159; Adamesteanu 1958a *passim*; Griffo 1961, 158; Talbert 1974, 146–160; Finley 1979, 99–100).

Thus, historical circumstances may partially account for the lack of single-entrance, courtyard houses during the early fourth century, when it seems that the area was poor and depopulated so that there was probably little new construction taking place. Nevertheless, there must also have been other factors at work. Even though the island was relatively prosperous at the end of the fifth century there is no evidence that the single-entrance courtyard pattern was adopted at that time. This suggests that expectations as to the norms of social relationships may have been different in this area from those in Greece itself, particularly with respect to the extent to which households, and especially their female members, were protected. Such a pattern may be consistent with a population which was much more fluid than that of mainland Greece, with constant uprooting of the inhabitants of particular areas and the use of mercenaries and sometimes their enfranchisement into the citizen populations as a result of prolonged periods of warfare (Finley 1979, 72–3). It is likely that the citizen bodies of these cities were therefore less closed than was the case in Athens, and probably also in many other communities on the Greek mainland. Under such circumstances there may have been less pressure to conform strictly to social norms and ideals, particularly the strict parentage laws which determined citizenship at Athens, and perhaps also elsewhere (see above p. 15). There would therefore have been less social pressure to create the kind of private environment embodied in the single-entrance courtyard house. Our current sample of houses is not, however, large enough to suggest whether there were consistent alternative patterns of organisation which might point to the influence of different pressures (perhaps including the influence of indigenous Sicilian groups) on the organisation of domestic space in the western communities.

The later appearance in the area of the double-courtyard house, with its large size and ostentatious decoration, is perhaps more difficult to explain, particularly in the light of Sicily's prosperity in the later fourth century and its reputation for luxury and high living. It is possible that such houses were constructed at this time but that no examples have yet been discovered, although given their size and elaborate decoration it seems hard to believe that significant numbers could have been missed. If the time-lag between the two areas is real, then it may result from differences between the social hierarchies in the colonies and those of the founding cities. One factor is perhaps the prevalence of tyrants in Sicily, which may have made individuals wary of flaunting their money and attracting unwelcome attention: in the late fourth century the Syracusan tyrant Agathocles is said to have exercised extreme cruelty in order to gain control (Polybios 9.23.2), favouring the common people and gaining their support by picking out the wealthier members of society for selective massacre (Diodorus 20.3.3–8; Finley 1979, 102–3). In such an atmosphere it may have been wiser for a man to disguise his wealth and to live in a house which looked like those of his neighbours, rather than using his home as an advertisement of his wealth and status, as was happening in Greece by this time.

In sum, although our sample of houses is currently small, especially for the west, there are indications that the different political and social conditions here may have led to a delay in the kinds of developments that were taking place in Greece itself, although by the third century, evidence for similar patterns of domestic social relationships can be seen in both these regions.

The oikos *in other areas of the Greek world*

In choosing to focus only on the communities of Greece and the west, I have excluded a number of other parts of the Greek world such as north Africa, the Black Sea area and, most notably, the western coast of Asia Minor. Although there is some evidence for the organisation of space in Greek houses in these areas, the quantity of information required to construct a regional picture is not yet universally available. In addition, in some of these regions it is more difficult to distinguish between houses which were occupied by Greek colonists and those which were occupied by native populations who had strong trading associations with the Greek world and who therefore possessed Greek artefacts and perhaps also copied Greek artefactual and architectural styles. Nevertheless, in houses at a few specific sites the organisation of space does offer indications that similar patterns of social behaviour to those which are found in Greece itself, and in the western Greek cities, did sometimes prevail.

Of these areas, the region where the largest number of houses have been excavated is the western coast of Asia Minor. A striking feature of the houses of Greek communities in this area, which has long been recognised, is that they seem to have been exclusively of the *prostas* type, whereas, as seen in Chapter 4, Greece itself has yielded settlements with either *prostas* or *pastas* type, although the latter are more common. Such typologies provide a convenient method of referring to structures with a particular architectural design, and they do underline the diversity amongst the houses discussed in previous chapters, but they can also serve to disguise underlying similarities in the way in which interior space was used. The distinctions between *prostas*, *pastas* and *peristyle* houses (discussed in Chapter 1) focus on the appearance of the house and on the architecture, but they reveal little about the way in which different areas within the house were used, or about the relationships between its different inhabitants. By concentrating on the organisation of space rather than on the architecture, it becomes apparent in Chapter 5 that the *prostas*, *pastas* and probably also the *peristyle* house would have functioned in the same way, and I have therefore coined the term 'single-entrance, courtyard house' to refer to all three types. This expresses the fact that a range of general characteristics underlie many of the house designs found during this period, and the suggestion that these are connected with a range of similar social pressures. The concept of the single-entrance courtyard house allows for the influence of a number of different factors on the domestic environment, unlike Hoepfner and Schwandner's ideas, which focus on a single factor, namely the influence of democratic ideology, even though its relevance to cities outside Athens is uncertain.

From this perspective, the *prostas* houses of Greek communities in Asia Minor can be seen to express similar patterns of social relations to those which I have outlined for Greece and the western Greek cities. For example, at Priene (Wiegand and Schraeder 1904; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 222–225) the stone construction of the houses preserves evidence of a familiar concern for privacy, with few openings in the exterior and access from the street outside limited to a single entrance. The interior arrangement is also familiar: indeed, as noted in Chapter 1, Priene is the site which first gave rise to the definition of the *prostas* house. The central feature of each house was an open court which was bordered on the north side by a *prostas* and had patterns of access to the rooms which are comparable to those seen at Halieis and elsewhere (see above pp. 98–103). Many of the houses had an *andron*, which was approached through the court. At Kolophon (Holland 1944) a similar pattern of organisation is found in several fourth-century houses. A tower or *pyrgos* seems to have been a regular feature and included a decorated room in its lower storey which is interpreted as an *andron*. There are also apparent parallels between the *prostas* houses at Halieis and Kolophon in the way that space was used: at Kolophon features which were probably built ovens were identified by the excavators in the *prostas* of some of the houses (as for example in house III: Holland 1944, 136), indicating that this area was used for cooking, as seems to have been the case at Halieis, where cooking utensils were found in the same area (Ault 1994, 128, 153).

Alterations to one of the Priene houses in the late Hellenistic or early Roman period suggest that the Greek cities of Asia Minor witnessed similar developments to those outlined in Greece and the west: it seems that at this late stage house 33 was combined with its eastern neighbour to produce a double-courtyard house, with a peristyle on the western side and a more modest court to the east (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 225).

In north Africa, too, domestic architecture has been found which bears a resemblance to the patterns of organisation outlined in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. The best-preserved evidence comes from Ptolemaic Egypt and includes material from a block of Hellenistic houses at Karanis (Boak and Peterson 1931; Husselman 1979), and a smaller number of structures from a single season's work at Soknopaiou Nesos (Boak 1935). The papyri from the site offer the possibility of tackling a whole range of questions which cannot be asked in other contexts, for example examining the full range of occupants of a single household (as done by Hobson 1985), but at the same time they have attracted the attention of the excavators and subsequent scholars away from the archaeological potential of the site. Although the possibility of dedicated archaeological study has recently been raised (Van Minnen 1994, 233) such work cannot currently be undertaken on the basis of published evidence. What the published plans do suggest, however, is that the organisation of the houses at these sites is much more variable than what we have seen elsewhere in the Greek world: the court seems less important as a route for communication around the house, and the rooms show a much higher degree of intercommunication, with a linear, rather than radiating pattern of spatial organisation. There are a variety of possible explanations for this: the inhabitants may well have been influenced by the pre-Greek patterns of behaviour. They may even have continued to occupy houses constructed centuries before, or at least followed the lines of the mudbrick walls of earlier houses – a phenomenon well attested at settlements constructed of mudbrick and located in very dry environments, where the successive layers of occupation debris combine to raise the settlement up on a mound or tel. (The long survival of mudbrick walls at these sites also makes reconstructing the layout of a house during a single phase difficult.)

Such unusual patterns of spatial organisation do not, however, seem to have prevailed throughout north Africa. For example, further west at Euesperides (modern Benghazi, Libya), a few small houses of fourth-century date have been excavated (Vickers *et al.* 1994; Buzaian and Lloyd 1996) which do follow the familiar courtyard arrangement. There are no obvious traces of an *andron* or of any kind of porch structure in the courts of the houses which have been fully excavated, although the existence of more elaborate houses is suggested by the presence of high-quality wall-plaster and mosaic floors elsewhere on the site. Together these discoveries raise the possibility that the excavated houses represent the homes of less well-off families, but that there may have been a range of housing types in the city as a whole which catered for occupants of varying social or economic statuses.

The situation in the Black Sea region is slightly different. Here a range of housing types have been found associated with Greek pottery, including a number of 'pit-houses' which do not resemble any of the structures discussed here (as at Olbia: Wasowicz 1975, Crygitsky and Roussijaeva 1980; and Istria: Dimitriu 1982). The identity of the occupants of these houses remains subject to dispute, and it is possible that they were indigenous groups trading with Greek communities, but there are also houses in the area which do look more like those discussed here. These include a further group of houses at Olbia, two of which are organised around central courts and include an example of a room with a mosaic floor which has been interpreted as an *andron* (Wasowicz 1975, 98). Further evidence has come from the countryside, particularly the extensively excavated agricultural area of the Herakleisky peninsula

(Dufkova and Pecirka 1970; Saprykin 1994 *passim*), where large numbers of buildings bear some degree of resemblance to Greek farms, with a walled courtyard and northern range of rooms.

Further to the west, excavations at the orthogonally planned city of Seuthopolis in Thrace (Dimitrov 1961; Dimitrov and Cicikova 1978) have yielded houses of fourth- and third-century date of a slightly larger size than those found at Olynthos (300–350 m² as compared with the normal Olynthian house-plot of 290 m²). The architecture again resembles many of the houses discussed in previous chapters, with a main range of rooms on the north side facing onto an enclosed court which is bordered by a *pastas* or a peristyle. Insufficient evidence is currently available to non-Russian speakers to enable detailed exploration of the pattern of spatial organisation at these sites here, and hence to yield a picture of the extent to which their inhabitants are likely to have lived according to patterns of social behaviour similar to those found in other areas of the Greek world. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that further information on these structures will come to light in the future, enabling patterns of social relations in the area to be explored.[9]

Thus, although the evidence currently available will not support a comprehensive investigation of areas of the Greek world beyond Greece itself and the western Greek communities, there are indications that the patterns of domestic social organisation which I have sketched for these two regions may also be applicable to other areas of the Greek world. As more archaeological material comes to light, we can hope for a more comprehensive picture to emerge from these areas.

Conclusions

In this volume I have sought to use textual, iconographic and archaeological evidence together in order to produce as detailed a picture as possible of some of the social aspects of the Greek *oikos*. In contrast with previous treatments of the subject, the main emphasis here has been on the archaeological material, which lacks the social and gender biases of the written evidence whilst at the same time providing a broader geographical perspective and more chronological control. What has emerged goes far beyond what can be distilled from the textual sources alone, and reinforces some of the assumptions normally made about the *oikos* whilst challenging others.

Historians have always had to be aware of the fact that their source material refers largely to Athens, and that Athens may well be unrepresentative of other Greek cities. Nevertheless, the archaeological material suggests that in terms of the aspects of domestic social relationships discussed here, Athens is likely to have been similar to Greek cities elsewhere. This evidence also suggests, however, that in certain other respects the textual evidence has misled us. Detailed study of the physical organisation of the *oikos*, and of the artefactual evidence for the use of domestic space, enables us to look beyond the stereotype of the house divided physically into separate male and female quarters and to explore the way in which the household is likely to have operated in practice. Consideration of the social and economic contexts in which individual households functioned suggests that although gender was one of the main factors influencing the form of the *oikos*, its importance is apparent largely in relation to another dimension of social relations, namely, the distinction between members of the household and outsiders. Thus I argue that the principal form of house considered here, the single-entrance courtyard house, was a product of social pressures which required the separation of female family members from male guests, rather than a division between men and women *per se*. At the same time, however, the smaller, poorer houses which are found alongside this type, show that there were households where such norms do not seem to have been observed.

The archaeological material also demonstrates that a single, static model of the Greek *oikos*, as has often been used in the past, can only offer a gross oversimplification of a complex institution which seems to have developed rapidly in response to external factors. Changes in the appearance, size and organisation of Greek houses during the period examined here offer an insight into the involvement of the *oikos* in the broader social and political changes which were taking place in the Greek world at this time. In particular, the appearance of large, lavishly decorated double-courtyard houses adds a new dimension to investigation of the emergence of private life as a separate sphere during the fourth century, and offers a new perspective from which to view the social change which must have accompanied the political upheaval of this period.

These conclusions are inevitably partial and provisional: continuing excavation is being coupled with a rapidly increasing awareness of the value of excavating houses and of the promise offered by detailed study. This means that increasing amounts of material are being published, and that more care is being taken to record the contents of these houses in detail. In time, we should therefore be able to develop a more detailed and comprehensive picture of domestic organisation and, in particular, to look more closely at variation through time and space. On this basis the model proposed here is likely to need some modification. Furthermore, the present volume only addresses a limited range of questions and does not attempt to present a comprehensive picture of the *oikos* as a social unit taking into account all of its different members: the broad categories 'male' and 'female' and 'visitor' and 'household member' describe only a few dimensions of the *social persona* of any one individual who may have been present in the domestic environment, and on the basis of the evidence presently available it is impossible to point specifically to evidence of, for example, slaves or children. It is to be hoped that future research will push the evidence towards a more comprehensive assessment of the *oikos* as a social institution.

Perhaps more realistic in the short term is the prospect of refining and revising the model presented here. From a historical perspective there are a number of questions to be addressed: recent work has shown that as well as a core nuclear family, individual households are likely to have housed a number of other individuals, including long-term guests, and that friends and neighbours are also likely to have been an important part of domestic life (Cox 1998, 194–208). It remains to be explored how far these individuals were able to move freely about the house, and in what way the basic categories of outsider and family member, outlined here, need to be modified in order to accommodate them. One approach to this issue might be through more detailed work on the significance of particular aspects of individual domestic assemblages, such as aspects of decoration, which hint at the prospect of more sophisticated 'readings' of the messages encoded in the architecture of individual houses (for example, compare the information on mosaic floors collected by Westgate (Westgate 1995) with the use made of such material in the Roman context by Scott (Scott 1994; Scott 1997)). Similarly, the exact role the house played as a location for male activity, and the nature and significance of the *symposium* and/or other social functions taking place within the domestic sphere, especially during the Hellenistic period, also need clarification. This might come through historical study of the nature and role of social relationships (for example Konstan 1997a; Konstan 1997b) and interpretation of the development of palatial buildings (for example Nielsen 1994; von Hesberg 1996). At a more general level, increased interest in the topic of Greek households amongst both ancient historians and archaeologists promises new questions and new areas of research for both, and research in the two areas needs to proceed in tandem in order to achieve the clearest understanding.

From the perspective of the archaeological material itself, more detailed information on the finds from a larger number of sites should clarify the interpretation I have offered of the architectural and artefactual evidence. In particular, more detailed evidence should extend our understanding of the significance of the differences between the *pastas*, *prostas* and peristyle houses, on the one hand, and the *Herdraum* house on the other. Evidence from a greater range of sites will enable more detailed conclusions to be drawn about the extent of regional variation, both within Greece and in the more distant Greek communities. Increased excavation of sites in regions such as the Asia Minor coast and the Black Sea should enable detailed pictures to be drawn up of domestic organisation in these areas, and of how it changed through time. At the same time, research on the archives of material already excavated at Athens, Karanis and elsewhere should allow more detailed conclusions to be drawn about domestic organisation in those settlements. Together, these developments will allow us to begin to interpret the significance of the houses with rarer patterns of organisation, which do not seem to fit the patterns presented here. In short, it will inevitably be necessary to revise this picture, and it is offered as a starting-place for future discussion, rather than as a definitive view of the *oikos*.

Appendix 1

Categories of data used to analyse the archaeological material

1. Architectural variables

The architectural variables fall into two categories: firstly features whose presence or absence helps to determine the function of a particular architectural space, and secondly variables which express aspects of the way in which that space fits in with the spatial syntax of the house more generally.

(i) Presence/absence variables

Stairs. The existence of stairs is important as evidence of an upper storey or at least of an accessible roof space, either of which would add to the space potentially available for use.

Raised edge to the room. A plaster ledge appearing around the walls of the rooms was identified by Robinson and Graham at Olynthos as evidence of a location for the couches used in an *andron* (Robinson and Graham 1938, 171). If their assumption is correct (and there is no reason to suppose that it is not), then this feature represents a good way of identifying an *andron* in the archaeological record.

Mosaic floor. This is an indication of a potentially important or public room within the context of the house as a whole, and reveals expenditure of resources in order to elaborate the domestic environment.

Wall plaster. This is likely to have been important as a decorative element, appearing in different colours. A form of plaster was also used as insulation against damp in rooms where baths were found (Robinson and Graham 1938, 283–284).

Rubble construction. This represents foundations of flimsy internal structures which do not survive intact and could represent partition walls or storage facilities which have largely disappeared.

Bath-tub. Fragments of tubs are sometimes found scattered through the fill of houses, but there is often strong evidence as to the original locations of the baths from the gaps which appear in cement flooring, as well as from bath bases which are apparently *in situ.*

Hearth. Written sources suggest that this is likely to have formed a focus for the household and it may therefore have lent significance to the room in which it was situated, as well as providing warmth and a facility for cooking (see p. 38). It is possible that there was more than a single hearth in a house, with one for cooking and others serving as heaters in different rooms. Portable braziers may also have served some of the same functions as a permanent hearth, but because of their mobility they are classified separately.

Drain. This is important in identifying areas which are likely to have become wet, either because they were open to rain or because of the activities which would have been carried on there.

Paved or plastered floor. The presence of this feature indicates a wish to provide a solid surface in a room rather than leaving it with the normal beaten earth floor. One reason for this is that the floor was in a space likely to be subject to wetting, for example a bathroom or open courtyard.

Pedestrian or larger door to the street. This will give a partial indication of the function of a space, since the size of the door will be suited to the type of traffic expected (either pedestrian or wheeled). The number of such doors per house will give an idea of how isolated and enclosed that house was designed to be.

Water source. This can be either a well or a cistern, and its presence is sometimes linked with the function of a particular area, for instance as a pottery workshop.

Column or pilaster bases. These are an indication of architectural decoration, and help to give a fuller picture of the manner in which space may have been demarcated.

Altar. The presence of an altar reveals cult activity, and lends importance to the area of the house in which it is situated.

Tile. These are noted as a possible aid to identifying roofed versus unroofed areas and also to assessing which parts of the house seem to have had a substantial superstructure, possibly indicating an upper storey.

Ash. This is likely to be indicative of the presence of fires for cooking or heating. Such deposits need to be distinguished from deposits of ash resulting from burning during a destruction and abandonment phase.

(ii) Organisational characteristics

Courtyard walls. The presence of a wall onto the court will have affected the amount of daylight potentially available to different rooms through doors and any windows. Although lamps are found, it is likely that they will have produced only a dim light in comparison with daylight. Some tasks such as weaving may have required relatively bright lighting (Pekridou-Gorecki 1989, 24), and it has also been suggested in the case of Olynthos that the *andron* may have been placed next to the street so as to receive maximum daylight (Robinson and Graham 1938, 178; see also pp. 70–71). The extent to which a room may have had access to light from the outside may therefore have been part of the spatial definition of the room.

Exterior walls. These may also have affected the amount of light available if exterior windows were used. Although this seems unlikely on the basis of houses at a handful of well-preserved sites, this variable is still examined in order to test whether any relationship did in fact exist.

Room area (in m²). This will have affected the activities which could have been carried out in an individual room at one time and will therefore be linked to the function of that room. For each site, a histogram of room area plotted against frequency is used in order to group rooms into general size categories. The analysis including room area as a variable is carried out with the rooms divided into these different groups.

Orientation. As already noted, orientation in relation to the sun is specified by ancient authors as an important aspect of the overall design of the house, for practical reasons. (see p. 36)

Inaccessibility value. This is a variable derived from the gamma-analysis of Hillier and Hansen (Hillier and Hansen 1984, 147–149). The inaccessibility measure used here documents the number of areas through which it would have been necessary to pass in order to reach a particular room from the nearest street door of the house. This allows an assessment of how difficult it was to reach that room and therefore of the extent to which it may have been subject to public access. Such a measure will allow an investigation, for example, of the extent to which an area was located deep within the house, and therefore most protected from the outside world. The figure given for this value indicates the minimum number of intervening spaces which had to be passed through between street entrance and a particular room. The larger the value the more deeply a room was embedded within the house and therefore the more inaccessible it was.

Openness value. This provides a means of assessing the extent to which a room is public or private in the sense of the number of doors by which it could have been entered, and therefore the extent to which it was subject to through movement. This is also a factor measured by Hillier and Hansen (*ibid.*, 149). The openness value can be part of the functional definition of a room, in the sense that a central space such as a hallway may have a number of rooms leading off it. The score given here represents the total number of doorways, so that the higher the score, the more open a particular space was.

Number of rooms in the house. This gives an idea of the extent to which space is physically subdivided into separate units.

2. Finds

(i) Pottery

- Drinkingware/symposiumware.
  - *kantharos*
  - *kylix*
  - *psykter*
- Tableware.
  - plate/fish plate
  - dish
  - 'saucer' shapes
  - *skyphos*
- Female toiletware.
  - *lekythos*
  - *pyxis*
  - *pelike*
  - *kalathos*
  - *kothon/plemochoe*
  - *alabastron*
- Male toiletware.
  - *aryballos*
- Storageware.
  - *pithoi*
  - coarse *amphorae*
  - coarse *stamnos*
  - duck *askos*
- Kitchen vessels.
  - spit supports
  - coarse, open vessels
- Householdwares.
  - *krater*
  - *oinochoe*
  - fine *stamnos*
  - fine *amphora*
  - *guttus*
- *Hydria*

In addition to these specific categories, other more general categories are used for vessels which are too fragmentary, or the descriptions too brief, for the original shape to be distinguished. These will overlap with the more specific categories outlined above.

Fine sherds
Coarse sherds
Sherds

(ii) Other small finds (abbreviations used in Appendices 3 and 4 appear in brackets)

Metal vessels. These are almost exclusively *phialai*. It is important to keep them as a separate category as they would have been many times more valuable than their pottery equivalents (Vickers 1984, 90; Vickers 1985, 116). As such, they will have had a more restricted distribution, and possibly a different function.

Marble vessels. These are exclusively *alabastra*. Although we have less evidence as to their relative value, it seems likely that at most sites they would have been much more valuable than pottery vessels, due to the fact that they would have had to be imported.

Jewellery and ornaments (jewellery). These constitute the following categories: beads, bracelets, chains, earrings, finger rings, pendants. In iconography such items are exclusively associated with women. The only doubt as to function occurs in relation to the rings, since they may have been worn by either sex (some rings with seals are likely to have been worn by men), and also, where there is no bezel, it is sometimes difficult from published descriptions to separate finger rings from small ornamental rings intended for such purposes as drawer handles. The rings are therefore classified as a separate group.

Fastenings. These consist of the following categories: buckles, buttons, pins and *fibulae*. There is not enough evidence to suggest whether or not any of these have particular gender associations. The only class which can be distinguished through vase paintings is *fibulae*, which occur as fastenings for the cloaks of men as well as for the dresses of women, and not enough detail is shown to suggest whether there may have been different styles for each.

Utensils for food preparation. This category includes: grinders, mortars and pestles and graters. There is no body of iconographic evidence concerning this class. Where the large querns seem to have been incorporated into walls, they are assumed to be in a secondary context, functioning as building materials, and are excluded from consideration.

Metal fittings (fittings). This group comprises palmette decorations, bosses and knockers. These may have been used either on doors (as shown on some vase paintings and on the ornamental doors of Macedonian tombs) or as decoration on items of furniture (also shown on painted pottery, although in such contexts carved and applied decoration cannot really be distinguished).

Structural fittings (structural metal). These include door hinges, handle plates, pivot sockets, hinges, clamps, rivets and nails. They are treated differently from the above as being functional rather than decorative, and are therefore less likely to be a measure of wealth.

Lock fittings (locks). This category consists of keyhole plates, latchstring plates and keepers, and again might suggest a certain level of affluence in that there must have been something worth protecting.

Weapons. These include swords, daggers, arrow heads and sling bullets. Where habitation at a site seems to have met a violent end they are assumed to be intrusive, since it is impossible to distinguish between what may have been in a house before the destruction and what may have been left by attackers and/or looters.

Outdoor tools. This group comprises implements likely to have been used for some sort of work outside the house, and it includes sickles, picks, axes, hoes, netting needles, fish hooks and net weights.

Indoor tools. These are objects perhaps more likely to have been used indoors, and therefore possibly in the locations, or at least the buildings, in which they were found. The category includes hammers, wedges, punches, chisels and rasps.

Toilet implements (personal tools). This category includes probes, earspoons, picks, spatulae and tweezers, and it is impossible to tell whether they would have had a medical or a purely cosmetic function. It is doubtful whether there was actually any formal distinction between implements used for mixing and applying medicines and those for make-up. Such a blurring of categories also applies between the probes and *styli*, and in fact the same instrument is attested from literary sources to have served both purposes (Milne 1907, 72). Thus, those instruments designated by the excavators as '*styli*' are also included in this category.

Weaving equipment (loomweights). This category comprises two types of objects, namely loom weights and spinning equipment (spindle whorls and bobbins). The looms depicted on vases are large, and therefore presumably static or movable only within strict limits, although the size of the loom used must have varied depending on the width of cloth required, so the extent to which it would have been possible to use a loom in one space while storing it in another is difficult to judge. The question of the size of the loom must also have affected the number of loomweights needed. This could be seen to create a problem for distinguishing between stray lost weights, and complete loom assemblages. In the analyses presented here, such a distinction is not attempted for two reasons: firstly, even a stray weight may be taken as evidence that a loom may have been present in a room at some time or other, even if it was not set up there at the time the site was abandoned; secondly, in the context of the assemblages discussed in detail here, recovery is variable and it cannot be said with any certainty that the absence of additional weights amongst catalogued material is positive evidence that there were no additional weights in a particular space.

Craft tools. These include needles and spinning implements. There is a possibility of confusion between needles and looped surgical instruments, as has been documented for the Roman period (compare the illustrations in Milne 1907, Kunzl 1984, Riha 1986 and Jackson 1990).

Terracotta figurines. These have a possible significance either as religious symbols or as decorative elements.

Lamps.

Coins. The significance of the coins will vary according to whether they are found singly or together in a seemingly closed deposit. Found singly, they may indicate a chance loss, whereas found together, they are more likely to be the result of deliberate deposition, and will therefore be less indicative of daily activity.

Miscellaneous weights (other than loom weights). Some of these objects are likely to have been for measuring out fixed quantities, and will therefore offer an indication of commercial uses of property. Others may be elaborate loom weights, not identified as such.

Miscellaneous metal objects. These consist of metal objects which are too corroded or fragmentary, or their descriptions too brief, for them to be placed in one of the above categories.

Miscellaneous rings. These consist of rings which could have performed a number of functions, including suspension of curtains, acting as handles, or being worn as jewellery.

Appendix 2

Results of the analysis of pottery iconography

Comparison between motifs co-occurring in the same scene on the same vessel

Motifs		Chi square value	Phi square value
male figure	*kantharos*	0	0.519
couch	table	0	0.519
chair	casket	0	0.463
aryballos	*strigil*	0	0.426
phiale	*oinochoe*	0	0.415
transport *amphora*	*silen**	0	0.409
chair	mirror	0	0.389
maenad†	*kantharos*	0	0.389
silen	rhyton	0	0.385
female figure	casket	0	0.317
phiale	altar	0	0.313
silen	*maenad*	0	0.297
kantharos	*oinochoe*	0	0.289
casket	mirror	0	0.286
casket	*alabastron*	0	0.283
male figure	weapons	0	0.278
kalathos	mirror	0	0.276
phiale	female figure	0	0.268
female figure	mirror	0	0.267
female figure	chair	0	0.257
female figure	*kalathos*	0	0.255
female figure	*oinochoe*	0	0.226
male figure	*oinochoe*	0	0.223
chair	*kalathos*	0	0.216

*Mythical hybrid man with bushy tail, naked and often with an erect *phallos*.

†Celebrating female followers of Dionysos (god of wine), with characteristic costume.

Comparison of vessel shapes with the motifs represented on them

Vessel on which scene represented	Motif	Chi square value	Phi square value
pyxis	*kalathos*	0	0.349
stamnos	*oinochoe*	0	0.247
hydria	female figure	0	0.241
kylix	male figure	0	0.22
hydria	casket	0	0.217
kylix	fine *amphora*	0	0.207

Appendix 3

Results of the analysis of the sample of excavated houses from Olynthos

Analysis 1: The organisation of individual houses

Positive associations between finds

Finds		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
personal tools	pottery pot cover	0	0.575
well	metal vessels	0	0.498
food preparation tools	pottery pot cover	0	0.498
loomweights	coins	0	0.449
figurines	female toiletware	0	0.408
ashes	bones	0	0.381
craft tools	storageware	0	0.35
food preparation utensils	storageware	0	0.35
figurines	tableware	0	0.343
fittings	weapons	0	0.339
structural metal	miscellaneous metal	0	0.337
personal tools	jewellery	0	0.336
loomweights	tableware	0	0.336
outdoor tools	fastenings	0	0.331
loomweights	jewellery	0	0.328
weapons	outdoor tools	0	0.327
female toiletware	householdware	0	0.319
fittings	female toiletware	0	0.314
lamp	tableware	0	0.311
tableware	householdware	0	0.305
jewellery	miscellaneous metal	0	0.304
householdware	fastenings	0	0.303
figurines	householdware	0	0.302
fittings	coins	0	0.3
lamp	jewellery	0	0.299
structural metal	fittings	0	0.297
tableware	female toilet vessels	0	0.297
food preparation tools	jewellery	0	0.296
jewellery	pottery pot cover	0	0.296

Finds		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
householdware	miscellaneous metal	0	0.296
loomweights	miscellaneous metal	0	0.295
drinkingware	miscellaneous pottery	0	0.291
householdware	jewellery	0	0.29
coin	householdware	0	0.287
weapons	miscellaneous metal	0	0.286
figurines	coins	0	0.286
personal tools	food preparation tools	0	0.285
tableware	miscellaneous metal	0	0.282
personal tools	miscellaneous metal	0	0.282
structural metal	weapons	0	0.28
fittings	personal tools	0	0.279
fineware	fastenings	0	0.277
personal tools	loomweights	0	0.275
female toiletware	miscellaneous pottery	0	0.275
coin	miscellaneous metal	0	0.275
tableware	miscellaneous pottery	0	0.274
weapons	fastenings	0	0.27
structural metal	tableware	0	0.269
figurines	outdoor tools	0	0.269
fittings	miscellaneous metal	0	0.266
coin	tableware	0	0.266
lamps	figurines	0	0.262
loomweights	householdware	0	0.26
fittings	loomweights	0	0.258
loomweights	female toiletware	0	0.257
figurines	weapons	0	0.256
lamps	householdware	0	0.252
ash	indoor tools	0	0.25
fittings	food preparation tools	0	0.247
fittings	pottery pot cover	0	0.247
weapons	coins	0	0.247
altar	marble vessels	0.004	0.245
figurines	miscellaneous metal	0	0.243
structural metal	loomweights	0	0.243
locks	weapons	0	0.24
fittings	lamps	0	0.238
coins	jewellery	0	0.237
miscellaneous weights	tableware	0	0.237
structural metal	locks	0	0.235
lamp	female toiletware	0	0.235
householdware	pottery pot cover	0	0.233

Finds		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
metal vessels	pottery pot cover	0.008	0.231
fittings	tableware	0	0.23
female toiletware	miscellaneous metal	0	0.229
locks	fittings	0	0.226
personal tools	miscellaneous weights	0	0.224
miscellaneous weights	miscellaneous metal	0	0.223
weapons	tableware	0	0.222
outdoor tools	tableware	0	0.22
tableware	kitchenware	0	0.22
female toiletware	storageware	0	0.22
drinkingware	tableware	0	0.218
metal vessels	miscellaneous metal	0	0.218
structural metal	figurines	0	0.218
female toiletware	jewellery	0	0.217
weapons	personal tools	0	0.215
figurines	miscellaneous pottery	0	0.213
miscellaneous weights	fastenings	0	0.206
storageware	miscellaneous metal	0	0.204
personal tools	coins	0	0.203
structural metal	jewellery	0	0.203
lamp	fastenings	0	0.2

Positive associations involving architectural variables

Variables		*Chi square value*	*Phi square value*
orientation	courtyard walls	0	0.393
high openness	fastenings	0	0.325
raised edge	plaster floor	0	0.266
high openness	outdoor tools	0.001	0.218
orientation	outside wall	0	0.527
column base	high openness	0	0.378
plaster wall	plaster floor	0	0.371
outside wall	high inaccessibility	0	0.305
orientation	column base	0	0.3
openness	room area	0	0.278
plaster floor	rubble structure	0	0.269
orientation	openness	0	0.263
stairs	high openness	0	0.256
householdware	room area	0	0.241
paving	high openness	0	0.235
stairs	room area	0	0.234
hearth	low openness	0	0.224

Variables		*Chi square value*	*Phi square value*
low inaccessibility	high openness	0	0.224
altar	high openness	0	0.221
orientation	inaccessibility	0	0.22
low inaccessibility	large room area	0	0.218
drain	high openness	0.001	0.216
orientation	paving	0	0.354
low openness	worked stone	0	0.31
low openness	figurines	0	0.235
drain	paving	0	0.278
drain	plaster floor	0	0.283
orientation	area	0	0.281
hearth	kitchenware	0	0.274
drain	raised edge	0	0.272
orientation (south)	drain	0	0.255
courtyard wall	high openness	0	0.233
openness	structural metal	0	0.232
courtyard walls	high inaccessibility	0	0.226
plaster walls	raised edge	0	0.204
column base	stairs	0	0.206
rubble structure	high inaccessibility	0	0.213
bath	bones	0	0.257
hearth	rubble structure	0	0.324

2. Comparison between houses

Architectural features co-occurring in the same house

Features		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
mosaic	plaster floor	0	0.723
mosaic	plaster walls	0.007	0.609
column base	plaster walls	0	0.604
raised edge	plaster floor	0.009	0.502
plaster walls	plaster floor	0.007	0.464

Appendix 4

Results of the analysis of excavated houses from Himera

Positive associations involving individual pottery types, groups and features

Vessel shape		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
pyxis	*skyphos*	0.000	0.337
pyxis	toiletware	0.000	0.684
pyxis	*louterion*	0.000	0.403
lekythos	*kantharos*	0.000	0.448
lekythos	toiletware	0.000	0.778
hydria	moulded vase	0.000	0.375
krater	householdware	0.000	0.777
kylix	drinkingware	0.000	0.698
skyphos	glazed cup	0.000	0.328
skyphos	toiletware	0.000	0.324
bowl	toiletware	0.000	0.490
plate	fittings	0.000	0.344
stamnos	householdware	0.000	0.565
stamnos	fittings	0.000	0.391
stamnos	plaster floor	0.000	0.437
lekanis	glazed jug	0.000	0.449
lekanis	miscellaneous rings	0.000	0.403
glazed jug	tableware	0.000	0.364
glazed jug	miscellaneous rings	0.000	0.326
unglazed jug	kitchenware	0.000	0.463
moulded vase	drinkingware	0.000	0.526
moulded vase	outdoor tools	0.000	0.422
miniature vessels	*rhyton*	0.000	0.437
glazed cup	tableware	0.000	0.490
pithos	storageware	0.000	0.812
transport *amphora*	storageware	0.000	0.628
drinkingware	figurines	0.000	0.322
toiletware	*louterion*	0.000	0.356
kitchenware	unglazed lid	0.000	0.417
kitchenware	basin	0.000	0.478
kitchenware	unglazed bowl	0.000	0.384
block	arrows	0.000	0.428
orientation	street door	0.000	0.479

Vessel shape		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
structural metal	outdoor tools	0.000	0.536
outside wall	street door	0.000	0.773
ash	tile	0.000	0.357
fine *amphora*	duck *askos*	0.000	0.574
kantharos	toiletware	0.000	0.349
kantharos	personal tools	0.000	0.574
skyphos	plate	0.000	0.313
lekanis	blades	0.000	0.396
glazed jug	fittings	0.000	0.306
glazed cup	drinkingware	0.000	0.309
pottery pot cover	drinkingware	0.000	0.325
pithos	fittings	0.000	0.324
drinkingware	basin	0.000	0.317
basin	figurines	0.000	0.315
stairs	jewellery	0.000	0.574
arrows	fittings	0.000	0.304
coin	figurines	0.000	0.301
kantharos	drinkingware	0.000	0.340
skyphos	ash	0.000	0.292
bowl	figurines	0.000	0.292
plate	toiletware	0.000	0.309
glazed cup	kitchenware	0.000	0.291
drinkingware	miscellaneous rings	0.000	0.307
kitchenware	figurines	0.000	0.292
householdware	fittings	0.000	0.303
tableware	ashes	0.000	0.287
structural metal	fittings	0.000	0.312
arrows	weaving equipment	0.000	0.286
lamp	figurines	0.000	0.284
lekythos	unglazed *lekythos*	0.000	0.365
stamnos	moulded vase	0.000	0.328
glazed jug	unglazed jug	0.000	0.290
pottery pot cover	*rhyton*	0.000	0.365
pottery pot cover	unglazed miniature vessels	0.000	0.330
toiletware	lamp	0.000	0.289
storageware	fittings	0.000	0.295
kylix	*guttus*	0.000	0.323
bowl	lamp	0.000	0.277
arrows	tile	0.000	0.281
plate	unglazed jug	0.000	0.295
lekanis	unglazed jug	0.000	0.295
moulded vase	architectural metal	0.000	0.292
fittings	drain	0.000	0.290
miscellaneous rings	blades	0.000	0.351
bowl	kitchenware	0.000	0.265
stamnos	outdoor tools	0.000	0.347

Vessel shape		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
drinkingware	lamp	0.000	0.274
fittings	wealth	0.000	0.316
pyxis	lamp	0.000	0.277
drinkingware	kitchenware	0.000	0.267
basin	openness	0.000	0.341
skyphos	drinkingware	0.000	0.268
skyphos	tile	0.000	0.268
bowl	plate	0.000	0.273
bowl	*lekanis*	0.000	0.273
plate	glazed jug	0.000	0.277
stamnos	glazed cup	0.000	0.274
bowl	arrows	0.000	0.259
bowl	ash	0.000	0.259
fine *amphora*	householdware	0.001	0.303
oinochoe	householdware	0.001	0.303
bowl	fittings	0.001	0.262
glazed cup	fittings	0.001	0.262
householdware	outdoor tools	0.001	0.303
glazed *olla*	unglazed *hydria*	0.001	0.495
fittings	ash	0.001	0.263
plate	*lekanis*	0.001	0.286
ladle	unglazed *lekythos*	0.001	0.494
ladle	blades	0.001	0.494
unglazed *lekythos*	blades	0.001	0.494
glazed jug	kitchenware	0.001	0.254
drinkingware	architectural metal	0.001	0.256
kitchenware	architectural metal	0.001	0.251
lekanis	fittings	0.001	0.271
tableware	figurines	0.001	0.248
stamnos	drinkingware	0.001	0.271
stamnos	miscellaneous rings	0.001	0.278
kitchenware	tableware	0.001	0.247
bowl	toiletware	0.001	0.251
householdware	drain	0.001	0.260
toiletware	fittings	0.001	0.259
street door	tile	0.001	0.248
stamnos	glazed jug	0.001	0.262
unglazed jug	fittings	0.001	0.261
krater	blades	0.001	0.318
glazed jug	drinkingware	0.001	0.250
rhyton	basin	0.001	0.318
ladle	basin	0.001	0.318
bowl	*pithos*	0.002	0.250
plate	unglazed plate	0.002	0.313
plate	outdoor tools	0.002	0.313
unglazed lid	inaccessibility value	0.002	0.319

Vessel shape		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
stamnos	arrows	0.002	0.253
plate	*louterion*	0.002	0.255
paving	water source	0.002	0.280
storageware	unglazed *olla*	0.002	0.308
fittings	plaster floor	0.002	0.308
toiletware	figurines	0.002	0.237
basin	fittings	0.003	0.248
arrows	wealth	0.003	0.261
unglazed cup	excavators' function	0.003	0.311
miniature vessels	excavators' function	0.003	0.311
bowl	weaving equipment	0.003	0.229
skyphos	outside wall	0.003	0.253
lebes	unglazed *pyxis*	0.003	0.442
squat *lekythos*	unglazed *pyxis*	0.003	0.442
squat *lekythos*	metal vessels	0.003	0.442
unglazed miniature vessels	bones	0.003	0.442
lekythos	plate	0.003	0.255
skyphos	glazed jug	0.003	0.232
skyphos	storageware	0.003	0.237
skyphos	*stamnos*	0.003	0.243
plate	weaving equipment	0.004	0.235
unglazed cup	unglazed jug	0.004	0.254
glazed jug	figurines	0.004	0.227
miscellaneous weights	wealth	0.004	0.266
skyphos	*pithos*	0.004	0.237
lekythos	plastic vase	0.004	0.264
unglazed miniature vessels	marble *louterion*	0.004	0.292
tableware	tile	0.004	0.226
excavators' function	openness	0.004	0.227
kitchenware	lamp	0.005	0.220
bowl	cover	0.005	0.228
kitchenware	fittings	0.005	0.225
lekythos	fittings	0.005	0.239
pottery pot cover	architectural metal	0.005	0.228
figurines	miscellaneous weights	0.005	0.220
unglazed jug	excavators' function	0.005	0.299
arrows	outside wall	0.005	0.242
toiletware	unglazed *lekythos*	0.005	0.284
krater	*stamnos*	0.006	0.243
glazed jug	street door	0.006	0.217
skyphos	kitchenware	0.006	0.217
skyphos	street door	0.006	0.216
bowl	storageware	0.006	0.222
pottery pot cover	tableware	0.006	0.223
plate	miscellaneous rings	0.006	0.242
unglazed bowl	miscellaneous rings	0.006	0.242

Vessel shape		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
fittings	figurines	0.006	0.220
plate	glazed cup	0.006	0.224
vase	block	0.006	0.295
plate	drinkingware	0.007	0.232
kitchenware	miscellaneous rings	0.007	0.220
rhyton	drinkingware	0.007	0.277
drinkingware	ladle	0.007	0.277
fine *amphora*	miscellaneous rings	0.007	0.275
kantharos	paving	0.007	0.275
kantharos	miscellaneous rings	0.007	0.275
unglazed plate	miscellaneous rings	0.007	0.275
outdoor tools	miscellaneous rings	0.007	0.275
outdoor tools	drain	0.007	0.275
skyphos	architectural metal	0.008	0.212
glazed cup	wealth	0.008	0.237
bowl	*stamnos*	0.008	0.221
figurines	marble *louterion*	0.008	0.222
bowl	unglazed jug	0.008	0.215
guttus	duck *askos*	0.008	0.402
water source	metal vessels	0.008	0.402
lekythos	*skyphos*	0.008	0.219
fine *amphora*	plaster floor	0.008	0.400
kantharos	ladle	0.008	0.400
kantharos	unglazed *lekythos*	0.008	0.400
kantharos	blades	0.008	0.400
oinochoe	plaster floor	0.008	0.400
oinochoe	marble vessel	0.008	0.400
rhyton	unglazed plate	0.008	0.400
bowl	glazed jug	0.009	0.208
glazed jug	glazed cup	0.009	0.208
fittings	miscellaneous rings	0.009	0.224
glazed jug	unglazed bowl	0.009	0.220
householdware	figurines	0.009	0.207
lamp	miscellaneous weights	0.009	0.209
skyphos	*louterion*	0.009	0.209

Positive associations involving groups of pottery and architectural features

Object or feature		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
outside walls	street door	0	0.773
block	coin	0	0.743
structural metal	outdoor tools	0	0.537
orientation	outside walls	0	0.491
orientation	street door	0	0.488

Object or feature		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
block	arrows	0	0.434
excavators' function	blades	0	0.401
personal tools	inaccessibility	0	0.372
ash	tile	0	0.36
miscellaneous rings	blades	0.001	0.352
block	ash	0.002	0.331
drinkingware	figurines	0	0.33
excavators' function	miscellaneous metal	0.002	0.325
arrows	fittings	0	0.324
block	tile	0.004	0.321
block	structural metal	0.005	0.317
householdware	outdoor tools	0	0.304
structural metal	fittings	0	0.302
fittings	plaster floor	0.003	0.3
drinkingware	miscellaneous rings	0	0.298
kitchenware	figurines	0	0.298
householdware	fittings	0	0.291
lamp	figurines	0	0.289
outside walls	tile	0.001	0.281
female toiletware	lamp	0	0.285
paving	water source	0.002	0.281
tableware	ash	0	0.278
arrows	tile	0	0.277
outdoor tools	miscellaneous rings	0.007	0.276
arrows	loomweights	0	0.272
drinkingware	kitchenware	0	0.272
storageware	fittings	0.001	0.272
basin	fittings	0.001	0.272
stamnos	drinkingware	0.002	0.264
bowl	ashes	0.001	0.263
lekanis	fittings	0.002	0.262
householdware	drain	0.001	0.262
kitchenware	tableware	0.001	0.26
drinkingware	lamp	0.001	0.256
tableware	figurines	0.001	0.252
kitchenware	architectural decoration	0.001	0.25
fittings	ash	0.002	0.25
female toiletware	fittings	0.002	0.249
outside walls	ash	0.006	0.243
arrows	outside walls	0.006	0.243
street door	tile	0.002	0.242
fittings	figurines	0.004	0.232
female toiletware	figurines	0.004	0.231
marble *louterion*	architectural decoration	0.007	0.228
bowl	loomweights	0.003	0.228
excavators' function	inaccessibility	0.004	0.227

Object or feature		*Chi square*	*Phi square*
tableware	tile	0.005	0.221
kitchenware	lamp	0.005	0.219
figurines	miscellaneous weights	0.007	0.214
loomweights	lamp	0.007	0.21

Notes

Introduction

1 For the characteristics of the *polis* as a state-form, see Ehrenberg 1969, *passim*; Sakellariou 1989; Hansen 1993.

2 I have included for discussion structures which are largely complete and whose residential function seems secure, based on the assessment of the excavators, who are the best qualified to interpret the material. Where this interpretation has been subject to doubt, I have noted this in my discussion. For reasons of time and resources, the discussions of individual houses and their contents presented here are based on the information presented in publications, although I have been able to visit most of the sites. The exception to this is the detailed study of Olynthos, which is based on information contained in the site notebooks as well as the publication.

1: Domestic space and ancient Greek society

1 In relation to the best known of such vessels, the Caputi *hydria*, see Noble 1988, 116, and 205 note 11, with further references.

2 For other ancient references and the modern discussion, see Rhodes 1981, 331–335 and 496f.

3 This is illustrated by the contrasting impressions of the wife of Ischomachos given by two different authors: in the *Oikonomikos*, Xenophon recounts her relationship with her husband and her role in the household in a complimentary fashion, without mentioning her by name. In contrast Andokides names Chrysilla, wife of Ischomachos (and therefore presumably the same woman, unless she was the wife of a different marriage) for riotous behaviour which he says included adultery with her son-in-law (Andokides 1.124–7) (see Harvey 1984, *passim*).

4 For recent discussion of this debate, with ancient and modern literature, see Just 1989, 106–125 and Cohen 1989, 149–154.

5 Author's translation. For detailed discussion of this passage, see Pomeroy 1994, 291–300.

6 Although at Delos the term *andron,* used in inscriptions, seems to have encompassed a wider range of meanings which could also include a workshop (Hellmann 1992, 48).

7 The degree to which the poems can be used as a source of information about Greek society at any date has been called into question (Morris 1986, 120) and the relevance of a text which seems to be of largely eighth-century date to life in the fifth and fourth centuries is doubtful. The Homeric poems are cited here only where they are in agreement with later texts.

2: Approaches to the material record

1 Although, as the discussion in subsequent chapters shows, the coverage of the material currently available is patchy, the body of evidence is continually expanding as more

excavation takes place, and we can therefore expect our understanding of regional patterning to increase through time.

2 A number of examples are discussed in detail in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, below.

3 Cahill's work was in progress when my own analysis of Olynthos detailed below in Chapter 4 was undertaken, and it became available some time after my analysis had been submitted as part of my doctoral thesis (Nevett 1992).

4 For example, this is the main assumption underlying Kiderlen's identification of the aristocratic house (Kiderlen 1995, *passim*, discussed above).

3: From pots to people: towards a framework for interpreting the archaeological material

1 As is stressed in Chapter 1, it is necessary, when using the various types of written material in this way, to take account of the extent to which the interpretation of individual passages is affected by their literary contexts and this has been done in selecting passages for discussion and in assessing their importance.

2 *Aulion*: Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 4.1249; Aristophanes Grammarian *Historiae Animalium Epitome* 2.561.4. *Epaulis*: *Greek Anthology* 7.666.3; Aeschines *Letters* 9.1.7; Plutarch *Publ.* 5.1.7.

3 *Aulion*: Xenophon *Hellenika* 3.2.4; *epaulis*: *Greek Anthology* 6.262.1; Polybius *Histories* 5.35.13.3–4.

4 Vernant has also argued for the hearth as symbolising female elements of Greek society, in contrast to the outside world, which he sees as symbolically male (Vernant 1983). Vernant's arguments are criticised from an archaeological point of view by Jameson (Jameson 1990, 105).

5 For further discussion of slave activities in and around the household see Hunter 1994, 78.

6 The vessels are taken from the following volumes of the *CVA*: *Austria Fasc.* 1; *Belgium Fascs.* 1–3; *Denmark Fascs.* 3 and 4; *France Fascs.* 12–16; *Great Britain Fascs.* 9 and 15; *Italy Fasc.* 51; *USA. Fascs.* 2, 5, 7,8,15,17,18.

7 The importance of this relationship is made explicit by Hoffmann (Hoffmann 1977), who claims that it has not previously been recognised, although such a link has frequently been used as the basis for some suggestions about vessel use, both before and since the publication of his article (for instance Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 173; Schauenburg 1972, especially 298; Reilly 1989; Lissarrague 1991, 174 and 250).

4: The city of Olynthos: a detailed case-study in domestic organisation

1 During the first season, in 1928, over 200 workmen were employed for a period of more than three months (Robinson 1929, 53).

2 This conclusion is suggested by the relatively low numbers of vessels found in each room as compared with other sites where the numbers of finds have been fully recorded (for example Halieis and Halos, both discussed in Chapter 5, below). Such a conclusion is reinforced by the relatively complete state of most of the catalogued plain and coarse vessels (Robinson 1933; Robinson 1950).

3 Mylonas 1946, discussed above, Chapter 1.

4 For instance in house Bvi 7 (Robinson 1946, 127), house F-iii 9 (*ibid.*, 212), house Aiv 9 (Robinson and Graham 1938, 208).

5 See for example, house 1 at Ammotopos (discussed below, pp. 105–106), and house 1 at Monte Iato, Sicily (discussed below, pp. 140–142).

6 Examples include the house of the mosaics at Eretria (discussed below pp. 108–112).

7 See above note 5. The design of these walls might also be interpreted as offering some degree of protection against burglary, and this may have been one advantage, but the additional measures taken to provide visual isolation suggest that privacy was also an important consideration.

8 This has been documented in many different societies, but compare, for instance, Moore 1986 and Kramer 1982.

9 The excavators sometimes found traces of the original walls beneath new floor surfaces: for example in house Av6 (Robinson and Graham 1938, 92).

10 This result offers the best evidence that the site can provide on the nature of rooms in the upper storey. Nevertheless, it should be seen in the context of the fact that many of the ground-floor rooms cannot be assigned to a particular function, partly because different spaces seem to have served a range of purposes and to have been relatively unspecialised, and this may be a pattern which was repeated in the upper storey, which may have shared or duplicated functions also performed by ground-floor rooms. In addition, the results may have been affected by the method used to categorise the houses themselves, since a lack of stairbase may be due to preservation problems, and the patterns of the two groups may be confused by cases which are categorised wrongly. The house walls are not preserved to a sufficient height to judge whether an upper storey would have been present. Robinson argues that the roof-lines of adjacent houses would have been similar, so that if one house in a row of five had a stairbase, and therefore an upper storey, all the others must have had an upper storey as well. As Cahill notes, this suggestion is supported by the distribution of the preserved stairbases, which tend to cluster in particular rows (Cahill 1991, 209–210), and is followed in the groupings of houses used here.

11 This agrees with the results of Cahill's analysis (Cahill 1991).

5: Olynthos in context: houses in northern, central and southern Greece and the Aegean islands

1 In summer 1997 the site was so overgrown with prickly oak and thistles that the structure could not be approached. The discussion presented here is based on the descriptions by Wiegand and Luce (Wiegand 1899; Luce 1971).

2 Calculated on the basis of Shear 1973, Figure 4.

3 The excavators make no comment about the condition of the floor in this room, so that it is impossible to judge whether the lack of any trace of mosaic may be due to poor preservation, rather than the absence of such a feature in antiquity.

4 The structures illustrated are period 4, phase 1, dating to around 340 BC.

5 For some of the extensive literature on the subject, see, for example, Osborne 1987, 204.

6 My discussion of this site owes much to the work of Bradley Ault (Ault 1994).

7 Based on Boyd and Rudulph 1978, Figure 3.

8 In some cases the number of entrances is uncertain: from the published plans it appears that a few of the houses may have had rear doors leading from the back alley or *stenopos*, although they seem to belong to later phases (for the reconstruction of the different phases of house 5, see Dakaris 1989, Figure 10).

9 Based on Auberson and Schefold 1972, Figure 16.

10 Approximate areas based on Reber 1991, Figure 1.

11 In the case of the Halos example, however, the excavators do not suggest that the original building plot has been reorganised subsequent to the original construction of the house.

12 The so-called 'house on the almond-tree site' at Praisos is likely to have been a public building rather than a house (Bosanquet 1901–2, 260).

6: Regional patterns in domestic organisation: Greek houses from Sicily and southern Italy

1 This total does not include structure 23,24, since identification of this building as a house is somewhat dubious: it has a large court not comparable to those of any of the other houses, and the eastern range is devoted to shops fronting onto the agora. In addition, the long thin shapes of the northern rooms have led the excavators to dub them stables or barns, rather than domestic apartments: Vallet *et al.* 1983, 18.

2 The preliminary reports are listed by Tsakirgis (Tsakirgis 1990, 425).

7: House and society in the ancient Greek world

1 This kind of measure is paralleled in wealthy houses in the Roman world by images of curtains in scenes on mosaic pavements from north Africa, which seem to have been used to partition the peristyles of large houses into smaller units (Thébert 1987, 399 Figure 43).

2 Similar apsidal or oval structures, although often less well preserved and less extensively recorded, are known from a variety of other parts of Greece, including Eretria (for example Touchais 1977, 632; Andreiomenou 1981, *passim*; Kahil 1981, 167–168; Kahil 1985, 33–34; Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 4–10, 17–20 (with a more comprehensive list of earlier publications) (eighth and seventh centuries)); Athens (Burr 1933, 542–551) (seventh century), and Theologo on the island of Thasos (Martin 1978, 185) (seventh century).

3 Other examples include Greek Emporio (Boardman 1967, 35–51) (late eighth to seventh century); Lathuresa (Lauter 1985, 26–43) (eighth century). Such structures are also found stratified above the apsidal houses at Eretria (Mazarakis Ainian 1987, 4, 17).

4 At an earlier date and on a larger scale, however, a similar kind of symbolic and competitive use of architecture has been suggested as underlying the construction by developing *poleis* of monumental temples (Snodgrass 1986, 55–56) and of treasuries and other monuments at Panhellenic sanctuaries (Renfrew 1986, 13).

5 A parallel already noted in relation to individual houses at Eretria (Reber 1988; Ducrey *et al.* 1993) and Maroneia (Lavas and Karadedos 1991).

6 The distribution of artefacts around the houses making up the *insula* of the house of the comedian has been published in detail, but the house was reused as a dye-works before its abandonment, confusing the remains of the preceding occupation phases so that detailed spatial analysis produces disappointing results (Nevett 1992, 103–108).

7 As indicated by the size of the task facing the *polis* project, which is currently working to draw up a list of Greek *poleis* (Hansen 1994).

8 For Ammotopos, see Hammond 1967, 156; Dakaris 1986, 110f. For Kassope, see Dakaris 1971, 37.

9 Collaborative field-projects involving American and Canadian universities which are currently taking place in the area promise an increase in the information reaching western scholars, see for example Howorth *et al.* 1996; Coleman Carter *et al.* 1996; Edwards *et al.* 1996.

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House and Society in the Ancient Greek World

This book re-examines traditional assumptions about the nature of social relationships in Greek households during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Through detailed exploration of archaeological evidence from individual houses, Lisa Nevett identifies a recognisable concept of the citizen household as a social unit, and suggests that this was present in numerous Greek cities. She argues that in such households relations between men and women, traditionally perceived as dominating the domestic environment, should be placed within the wider context of domestic activity. Although gender was an important cultural factor which helped to shape the organisation of the house, this was balanced against other influences, notably the relationship between household members and outsiders. At the same time the role of the household in relation to the wider social structures of the *polis*, or city state, changed rapidly through time, with the house itself coming to represent an important symbol of personal prestige.

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Jacket illustration: view of the houses of the Quartier du Théâtre, Delos.

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